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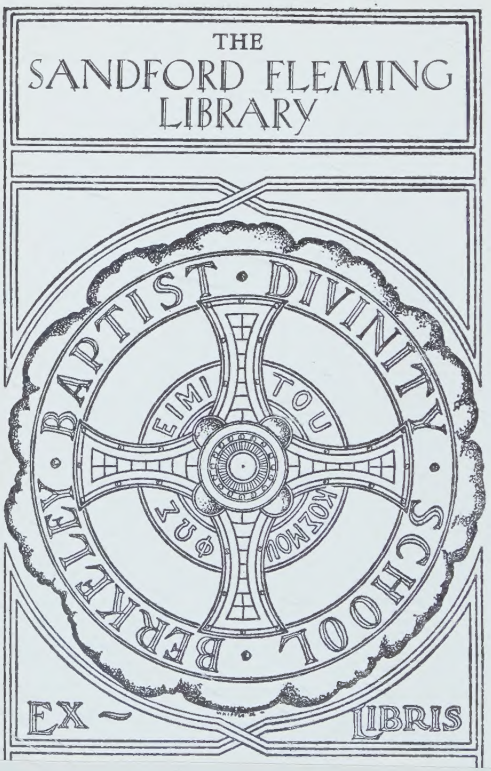

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THE ROGER WILLIAMS MONUMENT
Unveiled at Providence, R. I., 1877

ROGER WILLIAMS

A STUDY OF THE LIFE, TIMES AND CHARACTER OF A POLITICAL PIONEER

BY

EDMUND J. CARPENTER, Litt.D.
AUTHOR OF "AMERICA IN HAWAII," ETC.

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To

The President and Fellows

of Brown University

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PREFACE

With the broadening of human thought and sympathies, and the consequent weakening of division walls, separating the various sects of Protestant Christianity, which have distinguished the past few years, there has come an increased sense of human brotherhood. Never in the history of the human race has the public conscience been so sensitive as in these opening years of the twentieth century. At no period has there been so little contention concerning doctrine; never has there been so broad an insistence upon the fundamentals of belief and the demands of ethics. For more than a century past the discussion which has waged, often bitterly, concerning the true conception of the character of Roger Williams has had its basis too firmly fixed chiefly upon a doctrinal foundation. The day has dawned when it is possible to lay aside such considerations and to study the character of one of the most remarkable men of his day, as of a man among men; to consider from a political and personal, rather than from a strictly religious, point of view, the times in which he lived and the circumstances by which he and others were controlled; to study the peculiarities of his disposition and of those around him, and to form our final opinion, crystalized by these considerations, rather than by popular notions, which may have been held, either by his extreme

admirers, or by those whose opinion of his character has been less favorable.

In pursuing this study and analysis of the character of this man, the author has thought proper to consult original authorities alone, deeming the facts of history and the statements of the man himself, or of his contemporaries, and the inferences to be drawn from them, to be of more real value than the opinions of writers, whose sources of information have been limited to the same records and documents. He has endeavored to produce only a picture of the man himself, from which the reader will be quite capable of forming opinions, unaided by suggestions from the collector and compiler of the facts.

The propriety of entering upon a study and record, such as is here presented, was first suggested to the author by his brother, George Moulton Carpenter, late judge of the United States courts in Providence. It has been a source of the deepest regret that his sudden death, before the work had hardly been begun, deprived the writer of advice and suggestion, which could not have failed to be of the greatest value.

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INTRODUCTION

THE ENGLISH SEPARATISTS

The century which saw the rise of the Reformation saw, also, in some of the countries of Europe, what was a necessary sequence, the rise of diverse religious sects. More properly speaking, perhaps, it saw, in England, the development, not merely of religious sects, but of a sentiment which, finding its natural outlet in religion, expanded itself, until it invaded the realm of politics, and broadened and established a new theory in the life of men and the conduct of nations. The sixteenth century was an era of transition, a period in which the human mind, dimly looking into the mists of the future, was girding and preparing itself for a struggle which was to end, long years after, in the establishment of new thoughts, new principles, a broader life, and a more thorough recognition of human rights and duties. And yet, the sentiment of freedom in religious thought did not spring forth, fully fledged, at the dawn of the Reformation. Even so long ago as the twelfth century, a company of weavers of Worcester, who thought that they saw before them a glimmer of light—a light which years after, brightened into the full dawn,—honored with the name of heretic, paid with their lives the penalty of their presumption.

But the lash, the pillory, and the stake have ever failed to do their perfect work. The flames might consume the bodies of men, but they have never caused the human mind to cease its activity, nor served to check its onward progress toward freedom. Plantaganet and Lancaster, York and

Tudor each in turn found his realm infected with doctrines and tendencies which, to him, appeared fraught with the gravest danger to the church and to the nation. Each century saw a strengthening of this sentiment and a deeper rooting of the tiny plant which would, one day, grow into a stately tree. Four hundred years after the thirty weavers of Worcester had been scourged and driven out of the city, to perish of exposure and hunger, the Act of Supremacy cancelled the power of the Bishop of Rome in England, and declared Henry to be the head of the English church.

Broken loose from the bonds of Rome the people of England found themselves embarked, as it were, on an unknown sea of religious thought, and in a condition of unrest and transition. The advent of the era of the Reformation, and the establishment of the English church, did not serve to satisfy those minds which were reaching out into yet broader fields; and these began to be known as Separatists. In the days of Edward VI and of Mary Tudor there were many secret gatherings by night, in private dwellings, at which were taught those doctrines which led many of their advocates to martyrdom. Elizabeth, a sovereign far more beneficent than her immediate predecessor, sympathizing with Protestantism, saw many reasons why, to her mind, the English establishment should be maintained; for through it were maintained the validity of the divorce of Katherine and of the marriage of Anne Boleyn, her own legitimacy, and the security of her throne. The queen felt no hesitancy, therefore, whenever a congregation was discovered engaged in their secret and interdicted worship, in casting the participants into prison. The loathsome condition of the prisons of England in that day, and the atrocious and cruel manner in which they were conducted, comprise one of the darkest blots which

stain English civilization. Many of the victims of ecclesiastical persecution died under the torture of incarceration and thus received a happy release.

Robert Browne, to whom perhaps belongs the honor of having first in England actively promulgated the once dangerous doctrine of a separation of Church and State, was, at the outset of his career, at the age of twenty-one, a graduate of Cambridge, in holy orders in the Church of England, and the private chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. He would appear to have been a youth given to some independence of thought, for he is recorded as having early given offence to the ecclesiastical authorities, by the advocacy of some erratic doctrines. This offence seems to have been overlooked, doubtless through the influence of his patron; but a few years later, he was rebuked by the bishop of the diocese in which he was preaching, for promulgating doctrines, which did not comport with his position as a priest of the establishment. Deprived of his living, Browne openly became a dissenter. Teaching and preaching in the open air, in fields and pastures, to whomsoever would listen, Robert Browne speedily became a power in certain districts of England. In Norfolk he came in contact with a former college acquaintance, Robert Harrison by name, whose mind also had been turned towards the doctrines of these strange people. Together the two went to Norwich, where a congregation was gathered, to which they ministered. At Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, also they labored; but here they were apprehended upon charge of gathering congregations of dissenters, in private houses, to listen to heretical and treasonable doctrines. After serving for a time in prison for this offence the two were released. Their fate was banishment, a fate which was to them a release from persecution and a permission to dwell in a foreign land, under happier

auspices than had been theirs in their own country. But in migrating to Holland, Browne left behind him a name which, attaching itself firmly to the sect which he had helped to establish, served, no doubt, to increase the feeling of antagonism felt toward him by the ecclesiastical authorities.[1]

It was in 1581 that Browne and his congregation took up their abode in the Dutch city of Middleburg, where was, even then, a small colony of Anabaptists. Against these the authorities of the city had, in 1577, set on foot a persecution, which had been checked by William of Orange. "You have no right to trouble yourselves with any man's conscience," he said, "so long as nothing is done to cause harm or public scandal;"[2] a sentiment which, however novel at that day, receives in modern times its full recognition. In his safe retreat at Middleburg, Browne entered the ranks of the pamphleteers and put forth for circulation in England, books in which were taught doctrines then regarded as nothing else than assaults upon the Queen's supremacy. Thus the eastern counties of England were flooded with these books and pamphlets, sent across the North Sea from Holland. These publications were, of course, speedily interdicted and their circulation forbidden.

In 1583 John Copping and Elias Thacker, who had been active in the distribution of the writings of Browne and of Harrison were apprehended, put upon their trial, convicted and sentenced to death. The sentence was promptly executed, and two more names were added to the already long list of martyr Separatists. A dramatic act at the execution of the sentence upon these men was

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[1]The Separatists were also known as Brownists.

[2]Motley—*The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, iii, 334.

the burning, in their sight, before arrival of the fatal moment, of as many copies of the objectionable books as the authorities had been able to gather together.

The attempt thus made to stifle human thought proved futile. In 1588 the attention of the people of England was attracted to a series of pamphlets, secretly issued and widely disseminated, under the signature of Martin Mar-prelate. These writings were in a satirical vein and thus served to attract wide attention, and called forth varied comment. The most strenuous efforts were made to discover the authorship of these writings, but these efforts were vain and it still remains as deep a secret as the authorship of the letters of Junius. These writings served however, to keep alive the flame which had long been burning, and the anathemas of ecclesiastics were powerless to quench it.

A few years later still, two names more were added to the roll of martyr Separatists—names which have been handed down to us as among the active promoters of these doctrines, so obnoxious to statesman and ecclesiastic. John Greenwood, a young clergyman of the Established church, had by some means come into possession of one of the tracts of Browne. It made a deep impression upon his mind and doubtless had its effect upon his ministrations, in his country parish of Norfolk. His utterances attracted the attention of the bishop and, in 1585, Greenwood was deprived of his living. Drifting into Essex, he began to hold meetings at Rochford Hall. Pursued by the bishop, Greenwood fled to London, where he found a large company of Separatist brethren, who were worshipping in secret. In 1587 he was discovered and arrested, with a considerable company, upon charge of being present at private conventicles. In prison he met a fellow sufferer, Henry Barrowe, a young barrister, whose

name later became identified with this persecuted sect. For five years the two remained prisoners, engaged meanwhile in writing tracts in dissemination of their faith. In 1593 the two were put upon their trial and condemned to death. Twice were they reprieved, even after the halters had been put about their necks. Their third journey to the scaffold was their last.

Thus did England endeavor to root out heresy from among the people and by this means to maintain the English church and the Queen's supremacy. But this severity availed little. Although Robert Browne, in 1586, apostatized from the new faith and returned to the fold of the Established church, where he officiated as a priest for many years, the work in which he had been a leader went on. It was seven years after this apostasy that Greenwood and Barrowe forfeited their lives upon the scaffold, and in these years the number of the Separatists had not diminished, but the rather had increased. Fully twenty thousand names now were inscribed on the roll of this sect. These made their homes chiefly in the east counties of England and in and about London. The roll of the dead in the cause has never been fully made up.

Alarmed at this increase in the sect, which it seemed impossible to exterminate, the English authorities now enacted a statute which provided that any person above sixteen years of age, who should absent himself from church, without good excuse, for the space of one month, who should induce others to stay away, or who should write or speak anything derogatory to the royal authority, in ecclesiastical matters, should, at the end of three months, if refusing to conform, be banished from the kingdom. All convicted persons, refusing to leave the realm, or returning from banishment, without permission so to do, were to suffer death.

This statute was in effect a release from prison of hundreds of poor creatures, who were suffering untold tortures for conscience's sake. Then it was that began a great migration of these people from England, across the North Sea, into that Holland from which their Anabaptist friends had been driven by the savage cruelties of the Spanish Alva.

As early as 1522 had risen in Holland this sect called Anabaptists, some of the tenets of which survive until the present day. Denying the validity of infant baptism, these people accepted also, in all their literalness, the doctrines of the sin of bearing arms, of resisting evil, of appealing to law, of taking judicial oaths, or judging others. In Anabaptism was in reality the germ root, from out which grew the great principle of resistance to ecclesiastical centralization. It was more than a sect; it was a system. A term of reproach, the name of Anabaptist grew, among thoughtful people, to become one of honor; and from these people sprang a variety of sects, many of which have their survival to the present day. A new leader who arose, Menno Simons, founded and gave his name to the people called Mennonites; and in this and the designations of other sects, which arose upon this foundation, the name distinctive of Anabaptist gradually disappeared.

It was this germ root from whence sprang the greater part of the modern ideas in religion and statecraft, which have made the broadest impress upon thought and character. "In whatever else they differ," says William Elliot Griffis, "the ancestors and their descendants agree in these points: the liberation of religion from sectarian, priestly and political control; the elimination of the mob of middlemen in religion and the swarm of mediators between God and man; the practical abolition of monopoly and privilege in religion; the separation of Church and

State; freedom of conscience; the priesthood of believers; the rights of the independent congregation; honest translations of the Bible; the liberty of prophesying; prison reform; abolition of human slavery; the salvation of infants and of the seekers after God in non-Christian lands; the equalization of the sexes in religion and privilege; and, an avowed social and political as well as spiritual reform." Such was the outgrowth from the spirit of Anabaptism. There were some of the Anabaptists of Holland, it is true, who plunged into strange excess, including the adoption of a plurality of wives, following, in this, the example of the patriarchs. But this was an episode, and the example of the few did not make its impress upon the many; and this feature soon fell into abeyance.

In the year 1567, driven by the persecutions of Alva, a great exodus of these people,—fully one hundred thousand in number—occurred. Fleeing to England they found their homes and settled in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. It was in these counties, and in those of York, Nottingham and Lincoln, not far distant, where were found many members of the sect of Separatists, who, later came to be variously known as Brownists, Barrowists and Independents. Naturally, here they came in contact with their fellow non-conformists from over the sea, and when, at the adoption of the Act of Banishment, the emigration to Holland began, the Separatists had already become imbued with some of the doctrines which had been brought to England by their Anabaptist brethren.

Later in the history of these remarkable people, when James I had succeeded to the throne of Elizabeth, the little remnant of Separatists, who had gathered together in Scrooby, attempted to follow the great body of their fellow religionists to Holland. But the folly of the Act

of Banishment had been seen, since, with a free press in Holland, the refugees had been able to advance their cause in England, by sending their literature across the sea, far better than they could have performed this service had they remained in England.[1] The story of the escape of the Scrooby congregation, their subsequent settlement in Leyden, and their emigration and final settlement at Plymouth in New England, is a story as familiar, as it is attractive, to American ears.

This is, briefly told, the story of the Separatists of England, whose connection with the subject of this history will disclose itself, as the narrative expands; whose doctrines, especially those which have made the deepest impress upon the world's civilization he adopted, and which he, years later, expounded and developed.

The struggle for religious freedom in England, in the sixteenth century, however, was quadrangular. We have already seen how, from out the stock of the Established church grew luxuriantly the branch which we call by the name of Separatists. The great revival of learning, which had swept over Europe and which is known to history as the Renaissance, was accompanied by a quickening of the popular conscience, a sentiment which had its exponents in Luther and in Calvin and in their fellow leaders in the Reformation. With Luther and Calvin, upon the stage of life, came beside them a third figure. No less earnest and sincere in his leadership, than were the fathers of the Reformation in theirs, was Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Order of the Jesuits. Side by side with the struggle of conformist and non-conformist, was waged, by Loyola and his adherents, the struggle for the extermination of both. During this struggle, which now

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[1]Motley—*The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, iii, 616 *et seq.*

bade fair to be won by one faction and now by the other, sprang full panoplied as from the earth, a new sect, destined to exert an influence quite as powerful, within its sphere, as was that of the Jesuits. The English church, founded in England by Henry the Eighth, at the refusal of the pope to sanction his divorce from Katherine of Aragon, was, as we have already seen, strengthened and upheld by Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn. This monarch, upon the death of her sister Mary and her own accession to power in England, despatched messengers, according to custom, to the several courts of Europe, to announce that a new sovereign had ascended the English throne. Elizabeth could not have anticipated that this intelligence would be received with universal pleasure. She was quite sure that her name would not be received at the French court with acclaim; since Mary Stuart of Scotland, once the wife of the dauphin of France, was, in the view of every true Frenchman and Romanist, the rightful sovereign of England. At Rome she could scarcely have expected a warm welcome for her emissary; for had not the Holy See refused to her father, Henry its blessing upon his union with the mother of the new queen? It could not have been with surprise, then, that she listened to the message sent by the venerable pontiff, Paul IV, that he was unable to comprehend the hereditary right of one who was not born in lawful wedlock; that the Queen of Scots was undoubtedly the legitimate sovereign of England; but that he was willing to act as arbitrator in the controversy, if Elizabeth should be willing to submit it to his judgment. It is readily understood that the new queen, young and imperious, had no thought of submitting the question of her legitimacy and of her constitutional right to the throne, to the arbitration of one who, in the same breath in which

he offered his services, had declared his prejudgment of the matter to be arbitrated. With such strained relations with the Papacy, Elizabeth could scarcely expect that the pope would listen to a request from Philip of Spain, for a dispensation, by which he might be enabled to contract a matrimonial alliance with his sister-in-law, and thus continue to be the Prince Consort of England.

Thus hedged about, Elizabeth had no choice but to declare for Protestantism, if she would maintain her sovereignty. But Elizabeth, during the reign of Mary, for prudential reasons, doubtless, had espoused the faith of Rome. She allowed the burial of her sister to be attended with the full pomp and ceremonials of the Roman church. She allowed a bishop of that church to place her own crown upon her head. She was fond of the gorgeous ceremonials, the ritual, and the vestments of the church of Rome; and it was not without a struggle that she brought herself to renounce them. Indeed, in the details of the worship of the English church, Elizabeth long and sturdily struggled for a retention of much which the Calvinistic reformers rejected. Long after the lighted candles and the crucifix had been banished from the English churches, the queen retained them in her own private chapel. She insisted upon the retention of the Roman vestments, by her clergy. She long maintained her belief in the Real Presence; and she insisted upon the celibacy of her clergy. Indeed, Elizabeth, so far as doctrine and ceremonial were concerned, was Protestant scarcely more than in name. The Papal See insisted upon its supremacy, as well in political as in religious affairs; it threw the weight of its influence against the *de facto* queen of England, and in favor of the pretensions of the Queen of Scots.

The first act passed by the parliament summoned by Elizabeth, after her accession, was the Act of Supremacy. This act provided the penalties of treason for those who presumed to deny that the queen was "the only supreme governor within the realm, as well in spiritual or ecclesiastical causes and things as temporal." To maintain her own supremacy, then, Elizabeth not alone declared herself and her realm to be independent of the dictation of the Roman pontiff, but also declared herself to be, in his stead, in England, the head of both State and Church. It was the opening of the gates for those who were to come after, who, on the other side of the sea, should enlighten the world in the great precept that, to govern a state, in the fear of God, is not an attribute of ecclesiasticism alone; and that, to control aright the affairs of God's church, is alike the duty and the privilege of His ministers and of His people, unhampered and undisturbed by political sovereignty.

And now, at the outset of her reign, a new sect arose to vex the young queen. As a Protestant, Elizabeth had, as already seen, retained an attachment to many of the forms of the Roman church. In this she had consistently followed Luther, for his idea of a reformation in the church had touched matters of doctrine alone. The teachings of Calvin, however, went much further than this; and in the churches of Calvinistic faith the utmost plainness of ceremonial, of ornamentation and of dress were affected. During the reign of Mary, many of these extreme reformers had been sent to the stake and many others had fled for their lives. When these refugees saw a Protestant sovereign upon the throne, they were encouraged to return and soon their voices were again heard in England. It was in the antagonism which at once arose, between a queen, on the one hand, who retained a strong preference

for the ancient ceremonials of Rome, and a large body of the clergy, on the other, who were sturdy adherents of the complete reformation urged by Calvin, that the powerful body known as the Puritans had its rise.

This sect differed from the Separatists, in that they advocated no separation from the Established Church of England. In May, 1629, Francis Higginson, leading his followers to the New World, stood upon the prow of the vessel, which was bearing them out of sight of their native land, and exclaimed: "We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say, at their leaving England, 'Farewell, Babylon! farewell, Rome!'; but we will say: 'Farewell, dear England! farewell, the Church of God in England! and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation and propagate the gospel in America.'" [1]

Seeking to purify the church from the last lingering vestige of Romanism, these people were given the name which, alternately a term of reproach and of approbation, became in time a power throughout England, a power which reached its culmination, years later, in that historic tragedy, in front of the Banqueting House at Whitehall.

The true beginning of Puritanism, however, must be fixed at a time even earlier than that of Elizabeth. Although these people were not known by the distinctive name of Puritans, until the days of the virgin queen, the principle of non-conformity first appeared, with John Hooper as its exponent, in the days of Henry the Eighth. Although this monarch's relations with the Holy See had suffered an open rupture, it would not appear that he

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[1] Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, ii, 328.

sympathized with the religious movement known as the Reformation. As did, in later years, his daughter Elizabeth, King Henry sought only to form a new church, with himself as the head, a church which should preserve all the doctrines and usages of Rome. His desire was merely to effect a schism, or a revolt against the claims of headship set up by the Bishop of Rome, and not a reformation, or a recasting of the doctrines of the church. When, therefore, John Hooper appeared as the advocate in England, of the new thought, which had been advanced by Luther, he found it necessary to seek refuge from persecution in Switzerland.

Returning to his own country on the accession of Edward VI, he was appointed to the bishopric of Gloucester; but, on his refusal to wear the vestments of the Roman church he, instead of a bishop's palace, was given a home in a prison. After an imprisonment of a year his scruples were so far overcome, that he consented to be arrayed in the dress prescribed for a bishop, during his consecration, with the understanding that, at other times he might be permitted to discard it. With this compromise Hooper was released and was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester, in March, 1551. Four years later, by order of Mary, he was burned at the stake, the first of the Puritan martyrs.

The severities which characterized the reign of Mary, served to check the spread of non-conformity, which she confounded with the Lutherism of Germany. But after the close of her inglorious reign, and the accession of her half-sister, as already seen, the exiles who had escaped the stake by taking refuge in Holland, Switzerland and elsewhere began to return and to resume their work. Many of the bishops of the reign of Elizabeth were open adherents of the new faith. The influence of the years

passed in exile, and of the teachings of the continental reformers, especially of Calvin and his followers now began to be felt. The insistence of this new sect within the pale of the English church, was upon the rejection, not only of the headship of the Bishop of Rome, but also of the forms, ceremonies and doctrines of the Roman church. To many, indeed, the episcopacy itself became an abomination; and two orders only, of the clergy, it was claimed were sanctioned by the Scriptures.

From this waning belief in the episcopacy grew forth a sentiment of disbelief in the necessary validity of episcopal ordination. Many of the clergy of the English church at this time who held livings, had been set apart to the work of the ministry, after the congregational form, this ordination being accepted, if not formally recognized, as valid.

The example of Hooper, in refusing to wear the vestments of the church, was followed by many others. The alb and the stole became to be regarded by many as emblematic of superstition, even as pictures and images in the churches, were regarded as idolatrous. A vigorous controversy arose and many of the clergy preferred the loss of their benefices to submission even to the compromise of the surplice. This growing discontent with the retention in the English church of the forms and symbols of Rome, excited the alarm of the queen. Especially was she alarmed when the agitation reached the great universities, and gown and surplice came more and more to be discarded.

The vestment controversy, which largely, gave rise to Separatism, was followed by an earnest discussion of the use of the sign of the cross in baptism; of the custom of kneeling in partaking of the sacrament of the Last Supper, as being regarded as an act of adoration of the

Real Presence; and of the employment of the organ and other instruments of music, as adjuncts to divine worship. Upon a reformation in the church, which should include the abolition of these customs, the Puritan wing in the church steadily insisted; and their attitude was as vigorously resisted by the conformists. Indeed, the new sect began to demand that whatever savored of Rome should be abolished from the church, thus adopting the extreme position of Calvin.

The Act of Supremacy was speedily followed by the Act of Uniformity. This act forbade the use in the churches, of any prayer book save the second of Edward VI; and it imposed a fine of one shilling upon all who absented themselves from divine worship, without any lawful or reasonable excuse for such absence. Upon these two acts Elizabeth based those claims by which she, as sovereign of England, assumed to control the consciences of her subjects and hold them in subjection, in matters ecclesiastical as well as political. The great controversy which followed and which convulsed the nation, served to strengthen the ranks of the Puritan sect, and to raise up, in Cromwell and his followers, its great exponents, and in Archbishop Laud and his fellow ecclesiastics its bitter enemies. The Puritan resisted, as an invasion of his rights of conscience, the contention of the sovereign, that the power lay in the crown to correct and punish abuses of doctrine and worship. He denied the claim that the Church of Rome, despite its corruptions, was a true church; and he denied the right of the Bishop of Rome, in his claim to the headship of the Christian world. The Puritan held closely to the Scriptures as the true guide, in matters of government and discipline, as well as in matters of faith; a contention which his opponents did not admit. His opponents maintained the right of

the civil ruler to settle all questions of ceremonial and of ecclesiastical vesture, as things not touched upon in the Scriptures; this right the Puritan denied. This last named point of divergence was that which chiefly brought upon the Puritan sect the heavy hand of civil persecution, which caused many of them to flee to foreign lands, and which led both Puritan and Separatist to find homes in the New World.

Wide as was the divergence between the sect of the Puritans and the adherents of the English church, it was scarcely wider than was the chasm between the two wings of non-conformists. While this divergence of doctrine was so great, it does not appear, however, that there was, at any time, either in England or in America, any inclination, on the part of Puritan, or of Separatist, to persecute each other. Both sects had felt the heavy hand of the English law as administered by those in authority, and both fled before its weight. At Plymouth, in New England, a little company of Separatists found an asylum, after years of exile in Holland; to Salem and to Boston came the Winthrop company of Puritan settlers, to found the New England theocracy. And yet, divergent in their ideas of church polity, and filled with an hereditary dislike of each other, these two settlements lived in the sweetest of amity; while in the Old World the distinction between the two sects continued to be widely marked. The tree having become firmly planted in the New World, in the course of time the theological distinction between Separatist and Puritan began to grow less and finally disappeared. The Puritan in New England, by virtue of his surroundings, his isolation, the political and ecclesiastical drift of the times, insensibly allowed the chasm between the two sects to grow less, and finally to disappear. And yet, with the memory of the bitterness

of religious dispute still fresh in his mind, it is not to be wondered that a new-comer among the New England Puritans, himself imbued with the doctrines and traditions of Separatism, should have looked askance at those among whom he found himself, and should have felt impelled to continue the old controversies.

ROGER WILLIAMS

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CHAPTER I

It was early in the month of February, in the year 1630, that the good ship *Lyon*, sixty-seven days from Bristol, England, dropped anchor at Nantasket, near the entrance to the harbor of Boston, in New England. She had had a very tempestuous passage, yet all, save one, of her twenty passengers arrived safe and in good health. One young man, named Way, had volunteered to assist the crew in the management of the vessel, during a tempest. While employed aloft, he missed his footing and fell from the spritsail yard into the sea. It was a fatal fall, for the sea ran high, wherein no boat could for a moment live. We may easily imagine the consternation of the parents of the unhappy lad, as they watched his fast receding form, until it disappeared forever in the deep.

Four days later, upon the ninth day of February, the ship *Lyon*, in the midst of a field of drifting ice, dropped anchor before Boston. Among the passengers who landed was one to whom the attention of the people was at once directed. He was, so Governor John Winthrop recorded[1] "a godley minister," or, as another chronicler describes him, a man "of good account in England, for a godly and zealous preacher."[2] His name was Roger Williams.

[1]Winthrop's *History of New England.*

[2]Hubbard's *General History of New England*, ii, 202.

The coming of this man marked the beginning of an episode in the history of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, brief, but remarkable. He was welcomed, doubtless with delight and reverence; and yet, five years had not elapsed when he was directed, by vote of the General Court, to "depart out of this jurisdiction," as a disturber of the peace of the colony. To the narrative and discussion of this brief episode, and of his later life, and hischaracter, the pages which follow are devoted.

Who was this man, Roger Williams, who, in this manner, had come into the life of the colony? What city saw his birth, and who were his father and his mother? For many years these questions remained unanswered, and his parentage was a genealogical problem, fascinating, yet seemingly impossible of solution. Even as the lineaments of his face, and the measure of his stature can be sketched by the idealist alone, so also the events of his early life, before he came to these shores, could only be imagined. Tradition, for years, ascribed to him a Welsh origin; but for this tradition no satisfactory foundation can be found. For want of a better, this theory of the nativity of Roger Williams was generally accepted by historians, and remained undisputed until the year 1889. In April of that year, a paper was read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, by Reuben A. Guild, LL.D., librarian of Brown University, in which the writer claimed to have made an important discovery. The claim was set forth that Roger Williams was the third son of William Willyams, of Roseworthy, near Gwinear, Cornwall, England, born December 21, 1602.

From the records concerning this family, Dr. Guild now made the further discovery that it comprised two other sons, William and Arthur, and one sister, named

Margaret. In support of his theory, Dr. Guild shows that the Roger Williams of history, in a document executed in 1679[1], declared himself to be "now near to fourscore years of age." The birth of Roger Williams of Cornwall in December, 1602, is certainly thoroughly in accord with this statement. But, furthermore, in subtle and ingenious argument, Dr. Guild shows, from Williams' own writings, that the Roger Williams of history was not in good favor with his family, on account of his Separatist tendencies, having been, as he says in a letter written to Winthrop, in 1632, "persecuted in and out of my (his) father's house, these many years." Dr. Guild urges that the Willyams family of Cornwall were wealthy and proud, and were quite likely to have assumed an attitude of hostility and disapproval towards a member who had become antagonistic to the English establishment.

Again, Dr. Guild shows that Roger Williams declares, in his "*George Fox, Digg'd out of his Burrowes*", that he had lost great sums in the chancery in England, which losses he chose to bear rather than submit to the imposition of a judicial oath. He argues that this might well apply to the Roger of Cornwall, who, he is sure, was the son of a wealthy mother. Still again, Dr. Guild turns to philology to account for the tradition of a Welsh origin of Roger Williams. He quotes Max Muller in saying that the ancient Cornish was a Celtic language, formed from the Cymric and Gaelic, in which the Welsh dialect was predominant. "Being brought up in the neighborhood of Wales," says Dr. Guild, "and possessing an ardent Welsh temperament, he would naturally be regarded as a Welshman, by those who gave the information, in

[1] *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iii, 166.

1771, to Morgan Edwards, by whom the tradition of Williams' Welsh origin was transmitted."

Dr. Guild meets with some difficulty concerning a brother, Robert Williams, to whom Roger Williams makes occasional allusion in his writings, and whose name often appears in the Rhode Island records. He recognizes the fact that the name of Robert does not appear in the genealogy of the Willyams family of Cornwall, a fact upon which other genealogists, who oppose Dr. Guild, place great stress. Dr. Guild suggests, as a solution of this difficulty, that the terms "brother" and "brother-in-law" are often used interchangeably, and that Robert Williams may have been the brother-in-law of Roger, and not of his own blood.

This is the ingenious argument which this distinguished historical student built up to sustain his theory of the identity of Roger Williams of history, with Roger, son of William Willyams, of Roseworthy, near Gwinear, Cornwall. Other genealogists, and notably, Henry F. Waters, A.M., have disputed this theory, and, in the light of later researches, may be said to have dispelled it. In the interest of the New England Historic-Genealogic Society, of Boston, Mr. Waters has made a careful search of the records of probate in London. In the year 1889, the same year in which Dr. Guild promulgated his theory, he made some remarkable discoveries, which shed much light upon the subject of the parentage and early life of Roger Williams, and which, beyond doubt have solved the mystery which has so long perplexed historian and genealogist[1].

It is certain that the name of Roger Williams was by

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[1] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, July, 1889, pp. 290-303. *Ibid.* October, 1889, p. 427.

no means unique, in the Puritan age in England. Indeed, there was another New England settler of the name, who was a contemporary of his distinguished namesake, and who became a resident of Dorchester, in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. The mere discovery, then, of the name among ancient records is, by no means, conclusive proof that its owner was identical with the founder of Rhode Island. In his researches, Mr. Waters finds that still another Roger Williams was born in London, near the opening of the seventeenth century; and various genealogical tests have satisfied even the most credulous that he, indeed, it was who afterwards became famous as the apostle of separation of Church and State.

This Roger Williams was one of a family of three sons and one daughter, the children of James Williams, "a citizen and merchant tailor of London," and of Alice, his wife. James Williams would appear to have been a man of some importance and of considerable property. His last will and testament was executed September 7, 1620 and proved November 19, 1621, his death having, of course, occurred in the interim.

In this will, James Williams bequeathed one-third part of his estate to his "loving wife, Alice, according to the custom of the city of London." To his sons, Sydrach, Roger and Robert, and to his daughter, Catherine, the wife of Ralph Wightman, he gave each a portion. The poor were well remembered, for to them of St. Sepulchre's, without Newgate; to them of Smithfield quarter, of Holborn Cross quarter, and of Church quarter, he left generous sums of money for their relief.

Alice, the widow of James Williams survived her husband about thirteen years and, on the twenty-sixth of January, 1634, her will was admitted to probate. In this instrument she directed, among other bequests, that the

sum of ten pounds yearly, for twenty years, should be paid to her son, Roger Williams, described as "now beyond the seas," and she furthermore provided that "if he, the said Roger, shall not live to receive the same himself, fully in such manner aforesaid," it is her will that "what remaineth thereof unpaid at his decease shall be paid to his wife and to his daughter, if they survive, or to such of them as shall survive."

It will be remembered that Roger Williams described himself, in the year 1679, as "near to four-score years of age." There is a record that Sydrach Williams, the elder brother of this family, was married in the year 1621. Allowing for a probable difference of two years in the ages of the brothers, and upon the supposition that Sydrach Williams was from twenty-one to twenty-four years of age at his marriage, the genealogist finds that Roger was probably born between 1599 and 1602, dates which tally well with the record just quoted.

Mr. Waters thus finds no apparent discrepancy between the age of Roger, the son of James Williams, and that of the Roger Williams of history, so far as it can be learned from his writings. Again, Mr. Waters argues, in support of his position, that Alice Williams, of St. Sepulchre's, London, in January, 1634, bequeathed a certain sum of money to her son Roger, "now beyond the seas," with a reversion to his wife and daughter. At the date of the execution of this will, as Mr. Waters points out, Roger Williams was in New England, "beyond the seas," and he also makes significant the fact that he had then a wife and a daughter. Mr. Waters does not state his authority for this last statement, but it is undisputed that Roger Williams was accompanied by his wife, when he first came to New England; and *The Early Records of the Town of Providence*, published since Mr. Waters

concluded his researches, include an entry that "Mary, ye daughter of Roger Williams and Mary his wife, was borne at Plymouth, ye first weeke in August, 1633 (so called)."[1]

Mr. Waters meets with no such difficulty as that which confronts Dr. Guild, in the matter of Robert Williams. He finds that the Roger Williams of St. Sepulchre's had a brother of that name, who received mention in the wills, both of his father and of his mother. That the Roger Williams of history had a brother Robert is shown from his own writings, where he says: "Mine own brother, Mr. Robert Williams, Schoolmaster in Newport, desired to speak."[2] To this may be added the fact, of which Mr. Waters was perhaps not aware, that the early records of Providence make frequent mention of one Robert Williams, who was a man of some importance in the colony, frequently serving as moderator of the town meetings and, upon one occasion at least, serving as president of the general court. An important document, known as the "Compact of the Twenty-five Acre Purchasers," executed January 19, 1645, contains the names of Robert Williams and Roger Williams in close juxtaposition.[3]

That Robert Williams did not always remain a citizen of Providence is shown by a deed, printed in Volume III of *The Early Records of the Town of Providence*, and bearing date of October 13, 1671. In this instrument one John Scott conveys to Leander Smyth a certain parcel of land, described as one "which formerly belonged unto Robert

[1] *The Early Records of the Town of Providence.* Edited by Horatio Rogers, George Moulton Carpenter and Edward Field, i, 7.

[2] *George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes*—Publications of the Narragansett Club, v, 47.

[3] See facsimile of Compact, which forms the frontispiece of Volume II of *The Early Records of the Town of Providence.*

Williams, formerly inhabetant of Providence." There is, therefore, no discrepancy found between these records and Williams' statement concerning his brother Robert, a schoolmaster at Newport.

In concluding the narrative of this remarkable controversy concerning the parentage of Roger Williams, it is interesting to note that Dr. Guild himself has furnished one of the strongest points of evidence for the upholding of the case of his antagonist. He calls attention to the fact that, in his *George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes*, Roger Williams says:

"Myself have seen the Old Testament of the Jews, most curious writing, whose price (in the way of trade) was three score pounds, which my brother, a Turkey merchant, had and shewed me."

Had Roger Williams of St. Sepulchre's a brother who was a Turkey merchant? Surely Robert Williams was not in trade with the Orient, for he was a schoolmaster at Newport. Sydrach Williams, as well as his father, James, was a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company of London. At the request of the former librarian of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, the late Mr. John Ward Dean, the officers of the Merchant Taylors' Company, in 1889, made a thorough search of the records, for evidence that Sydrach Williams was engaged in the Oriental trade. This search was rewarded; in August, 1889, the reply was returned that Sydrach Williams was a merchant to Turkey, for "on March 6, 1626 he took as an apprentice one Robert Williams, (son of Jacobi Williams, citizen and merchant taylor) and he is described on the apprentice book, vol. IX, p. 233, as a merchant to Turkey and Italy."[1] Thus the evidence is cumulative, that the

[1]The quotation is from an unpublished letter of the secretary of the Merchant Tailors' Company to Mr. Dean.

mystery which so long surrounded the parentage of Roger Williams has, at last, been fully solved and historian and biographer of the present day are fully justified in writing him as the son of James Williams of London, and of Alice his wife.

Concerning the date of the birth of Roger Williams the most recent and most convincing discussion is by Mr. Almon D. Hodges, jr.[1] In a careful and exhaustive manner Mr. Hodges has examined all of the records bearing, in any manner, upon this point, and in his conclusions has brought this question as near to a settlement as is possible with the data yet discovered. Quoting a record found among the archives of the Rhode Island Historical Society, in which Williams, under date of July 24, 1679 writes himself as "being now neere to foure score years of age," he compares this with his statement concerning his age, in a letter addressed to John Winthrop in 1632.[2] In this letter he describes himself as "neerer upwards of 30 then 25." This somewhat obscure expression Mr. Hodges interprets as meaning that his age was, at the time of writing, nearer to 30 than to 25, "or that he was over 27½ years old, and hence born not later than April, 1605."

In a still closer reasoning, and a comparison of the records concerning his education, Mr. Hodges finds it probable that the exact date was even earlier than this, and that he was born in, or very near to, the year 1604. The reasoning is lucid; and it is not impossible that we of to-day, accepting this computation as accurate, know the date of the birth of Roger Williams quite as accurately as he did himself. Not only are both of these references

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[1] *N.E. Historical & Genealogical Register, January,* 1899. p.60 *et seq.*

[2] *Infra,* p.41

to his age, made by Williams, devoid of accuracy and obscure in expression, but the record of the births of the six children of Williams are equally inexact. These records, being found together upon one page of the earliest book of Providence records extant, were probably made by the town clerk all at one time and, no doubt, from information furnished by Williams. In the original book these records are written upon a page directly following the record of an instrument, which bears date of October 12, 1663. They could not have been made, therefore, earlier than that date. Since the birth of the youngest of the Williams children is recorded as having occured in 1643, it is evident that these birth records were not written until the youngest child was twenty years of age; and the oldest, born in 1663, was fully thirty years old, when the record was made. It is noticeable that the date of the birth of none of these six children is recorded with exactness.[1] It is perhaps not unfair to argue that Roger Williams had so little regard for genealogical exactness that when he caused the date of the births of his children to be entered in the public records, he found himself unable to give the necessary information with accuracy. With this thought in mind, it does not seem a violent assumption, that the vagueness of Williams' own records regarding his age was occasioned chiefly by his own ignorance of the exact date of his birth.

Of his education the record is meagre. Upon the back of one of a series of letters,[2] written by Roger Williams to Mrs. Anne Sadlier, the daughter of Sir Edward Coke,

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[1] *Infra*, p.

[2] *Infra*, p. *et seq.*

in 1652, is found a memorandum written by her hand. It is worthy of quotation here:—

"This Roger Williams, when he was a youth, would, in a short-hand, take sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber and present them to my dear father. He seeing so hopeful a youth, took such a liking to him that he sent him to Sutton's Hospital, and he was the second that was placed there; full little did he think that he would have proved such a rebel to God, the King and his country; I leave his letters that, if ever he has the face to return into his native country, Tyburn may give him welcome."

The records of the Charter House, London, of which the school known as Sutton's Hospital forms a part, confirm this fugitive record and we find that Roger Williams was admitted a pensioner in that institution, June 25, 1621, and that he obtained an exhibition, July 9, 1624. There has been some variation of statement, regarding the place of his higher education. He has been said to have been identical with a student matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, April 30, 1624, under the name of Rodericus Williams. It seems probable that this identification was made for want of a better, at that time; for, surely, the Latinized form of the name Roger is not Rodericus, but Rogerus. Indeed, in a volume of the alumni of Oxford, printed in English, this student's name appears as Roderick. More recent and careful researches have established, beyond a reasonable doubt, that he was matriculated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, as a pensioner, June 29, 1623, and that he was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1626-7. For the establishment of this important fact credit must again be given to the late Mr. John Ward Dean. Replying to a letter addressed by him to the Rev. C. E. Searle, D. D.,

Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, that gentleman wrote thus:—

"After a long delay, for which I must apologize, though I had good reasons for it, I have inspected the signatures of the students who obtained the B. A. degree from Pembroke, in 1626-1627, by the kind permission of Dr. Luard, the university registrary. I compared Roger Williams' signature with the tracing you sent me of some undoubted writing of Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, and there is no doubt a striking resemblance between this man's and the Pembroke bachelor's. The Registrary afterwards sent me three tracings of the name, as it stands in the register of the University; the first was done by Dr. Luard, himself, the other two by his clerk, and so you can judge of the resemblance yourself.

PEMBROKE COLLEGE LODGE,
CAMBRIDGE, APRIL 1, 1890."

A comparison of the tracings of the signature of Roger Williams, as it appears upon the books of Pembroke College, sent by Master Searle, with the signature of the founder of Providence, as it appears upon a lithographed facsimile of the "Compact of the Twenty-five Purchasers," shows a striking similarity, although the space of twenty-one years intervened between the execution of the two signatures.

This similarity of handwriting, and the coincidence of the dates, taken in conjunction with the fact that Pembroke was the alma mater of his patron, Sir Edward Coke, lead one irresistibly to the conclusion that at Pembroke College, Cambridge, Roger Williams completed his education and received his bachelor's degree. It is, without doubt, true that after graduation he prepared himself, at once, for the church and was admitted to holy orders about the year 1628. Two letters originally the

THE CHARTER HOUSE, FROM THE SQUARE
Reproduced from an old print

property of the family of George Alan Lowndes, Esquire, of Barrington Hall, Hatfield, Broad Oak, England, and now in the British Museum, are full of interest, at this point in the narrative. The first of these is undated. The second, written, beyond doubt, soon after the first, bears date of May 2, 1629.[1] In transmitting copies of these letters to the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Mr. Lowndes says:—

"I have had great pleasure in complying with your request. I have compared the writing of Roger Williams with the copy you sent, and also shown them to an expert, who agrees with me that they are identical.

"I enclose you copies of the letters. Mr. Williams at the time of writing them was chaplain to Sir William Masham, of Otes, in the parish of High Laver, Essex, (where the second letter is dated from). Sir William was the ancestor of Mrs. Masham's husband, who played such a prominent part in the reign of our Queen Anne. Locke, the philosopher, died at Otes, and is buried in High Laver churchyard. I think it very doubtful whether Williams ever held church preferment in this country (although he mentions in his letter to Lady Barrington that he had had the offer of two livings). Probably his disappointment in love was one of the causes of his emigration.

"There is no doubt he proposed to a niece of Lady Barrington, as suggested by his first (undated) letter, and the refusal brought the second, which very much offended Lady Barrington."

The two letters are of such interest as to give warrant for their insertion here:

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[1] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, July, 1889, pp. 316-320.

I

Roger Williams to Lady Barrington.

To his honourable good ladie Ye Lady Barrington at Hatfield Priorie, these

Madam:—

Your Laddiship may wonder at this unwonted absence & also aske what meanes this paper deputie! Give me leaue (deare Madam) to say with David, to his brothers in ye field: is there not a cause? A just happily a knowne & open cause, I am sure to yor Ladysh (who as an Angell of God discerneth wisely) a known & open cause.

Many & often speeches haue long fluttered or floune abroad concerning your Ladiships neere kinswoman & my unworthy selfe. What little care I haue given that may (further than I haue harkened after your Ladiship's mind) all that know me here doe know. Yet like a rowling snow-ball or some flouing streame ye report extends & gathers stronger & stronger which causes me this day to stand behind the Hangings & will not be seen any way countenancing so great a busines wch happily may want strength to bring it forth to see the light. It is ye command of ye God of wisdome by yt wise King Salomon Establish thy thoughts by councell. I presume therefore to consult (as most of right I acknowledge I ought) with ye soonest with yr Ladiship, especially considering her loving & strong affection together with ye report as story abroad.

Good Madame may it please you then to take notice. I acknowledge my selfe altogeather unworthy & unmeete for such a proposition. The neerenes of her blood to yr Ladiship & godly flourishing branches hath forc't me to confesse her Portion, in yt regard, to be beyond compare invaluable. Yet many feares have much possest me Longe I have to discover yt sinceritie & Godlines which makes ye Lord himself to like his Creature & must make me if ever I have receiued some good Testimonialls from mine own experience more from others not the least from yor good Ladiships selfe. Objections have come in about her spirit, much accused for passionate & hastie, rash

& unconstant, other fears about her present condition it being some Indecorum for her to condescend to my low Ebb there I somewhat stick: but were all this cleared, there is one barr not likely to be broken & yt is the present Estate of us both. That portion it hath pleased God to allot her (as I heare) is not for present & happily as things stand now in England shall never be by us enjoyed. For my own part It is well knoune (though I would gladly conseal myselfe) Now a gracious God & tender conscience (as Balak said to Balaam) hath kept me back from honour and preferment Besides many former offers & yt late New England call, I have since had 2 severall livings proferred to me each of them 100£ per annum; but as things yet stand among us I see not how any meanes & I shall meet yt way. Nor doe I seeke nor shall I be draune on any tearmes to part (even to my last parting) from Otes so long as any competencie can be raised or libertie affoorded. I shall impart the utmost to your Ladiship (more punctually than ever yet to any): beside this meanes I now from hence enjoy little there is yet I can call mine. After the death of an aged loving mother amongst some other Children I may expect (though for the present she be close & will not promise) some 20£ or 20 marks per annum. At hand undisposed of I have some 7 score pieces & a little (yet costlie) studie of books. Thus possessing all things I have nothing yet more than God owes me, or than my blessed Saviour had himselfe.

Poore yet as I am I have some few offers at present one put into my hand, person & present portion worthy. Yet stand they still at dore & shall until the fairest end ye Lord shall please to give to this shall come to light. I have been told to open to your Ladiship the whole Anatomie of this business. To wrong your precious name and answer her kind love with want would be like gall to all the honey of my life, and marr my marriage joys. The kind affection of your deare Ladiship & worthy neice is of better merit and desert. I shall add for the present I know none in the world I more affect & (had ye Lord been pleased to say amen to those other regards) should doubtles haue answered (if not exceeded) her affection.

But I have learned another Lesson to still my soule as a weaned childe & give offence to none. I have learn'd to keepe my studie and pray to ye God of heaven (as oft I doe pray) for the everlasting peace and well fare of your kind Ladiship, whose soule & comfort is in ye number of my greatist cares. The Lord that hath caried you from the wombe to gray haires crown those gray haires by making your last dayes (like ye close of some sweet harmonie) your rest fruitfull (like Sarah) in old age: out shining all those starrs yt shine about you: going downe in Peace, rising in Glory in the armes of yor dearest Saviour. To wch everlasting armes he often commits your Soule & yours, who is

Ye unworthiest (though faithfull) of all yt truely serve & honour you,

Roger Williams.

II

Roger Williams to Lady Barrington.

To his honorable good
Lady ye Lady Barrington
at Hatfield
these

Madame:— Otes May 2d 1629

I am forc't (with ye Seaman) for want of a full gale to make use of a side wind & salute your Ladiship by another, being for a time shut out myselfe I doubt not but your good wisdome & loue haue fairely interpreted my carriage in ye late treatie, & I allso trust, quieted & still'd the loving affections of your worthy neice. We hope to live together in the heavens though ye Lord have denied that union on Earth. Dear Madame. Let me beg your christian Pardon if I shall acquaint your Ladiship with a busines of more waight & consequence & much neerer concerning yourselfe. I beseech you to reade no further before you resolve to pardon & take with the right hand of love, from the Lord himselfe, a message sent by me, his unworthy

Servant. A better hand might pen it, A better heart more tender of your peace & everlasting good, none yt know you (if I can) shall carrie toward you.

What I shall now expresse to your Ladiship hath long lyen like fire in my bones Jer 20:9. I said I should not make mention of his name in this kind to you but his word was in my heart as A burning fire shut up in my bones & I was weary with forbearing & I could not stay.

Good Madam it is not for nothing, yt ye God of Heaven hath sent such thunderclaps of late and made such great offers at the dore of your Ladiships heart. Distractions about children & their afflictions; deprivall of a deare and tender yoake fellow weaknesses of the outward & troubles in the inward man, what are they but loud alarums to awake you?

The father of lights be pleased to show you the interpretations of these dreams, certainly (Madam) ye Lord hath a quarrell against you. Woe unto me if I hold my peace & hide yt from you, which may seem bitter at present, it may be sweeter than hony at the latter end. Incouragement to be naked & plaine your Ladiship was pleased to give me at Otes. If ever (deare Madame) when there is but the breadth of a few gray haires betwene you & your everlasting home let me deale uprightly with you.

I know not one professor amongst all I know whose truth and faythfullness to Jesus Christ is more suspected, doubted, feared, by all or most of those yt know the Lord.

Woe is me if I shall conceal what great thoughts of heart the Lord suffers yet to be & breake forth in his dearest Saincts about you. And yet no hand in this is with me, The God of Heaven & your deare Selfe only know thoses secret lines. It hath almost astonisht me (& I trust will deeply affect your Ladiship) yt not only inferiour Christians but ministers, eagle eyed, faithful & observant to vour Ladiship; after so many yeares of God's patience towards you so long profession, such helpes, meanes incomparable should yet be driuen to sigh, to say little, to suspend their judgments, to hope but feare & doubt.

I know (deare Madam) your heart is full at these relations I

beseech you (as David said) on me let your thoughts & the burthen fall, but have these sheepe done? when 2 or 3 or few are excepted: yt names of so great a number may well be spared.

Three things especially have I often gathered from them. First, feares are yt the world hath choakt those blessed Seeds yt have been soune & keepes the fruite from true perfection. 2ndly a strangenes from the faithfull in spirituall socitie: This is the fayrest evidence of Adoption. If this Pin breakes all falls. & 3d a stand or stay in the wayes of holynes young plants of yesterday giving fairer testimonies of greater fruitfulnes.

Deare Madame I beseech you by all those multitudes of tender motherly mercies yt are in God & exprest to you: by yt inconceavable patience of the Lord toward you: by ye bowells and blood of ye Lord Jesus by all thoses sweet cords of love, whereby the blessed Spirit of God hath striven you to make a stand and spread my letter (as Hezekiah) before ye Lord in secret.

If ever (good Madame) cry hard & ye Lord help me to cry for you. Let those 2 peticions Psal. 51. 11 & 71.9 be cleare to you. Rememb: I beseech you Revel 2.2.3 ye Church of Ephesus was much esteemed by God, for her works, her labour, her patience her not bearing with those yt were Evill, for yt she had borne, & for his sake laboured, and not fainted & yet angry was he & he had something against her: & it was because she had left her first love. The Lord established my hope for I hope it may be but so with your Ladiship only I beseech you to lay to heart these few considerations.

1. First Job 34.9 (Qu. 19?). He with whome we deale excepteth not the persons of princes nor regardeth the rich more than the poore for they are all the worcke of his hands.

2. When birth greater, maintenance, more ample time longer and means of grace more plentifull, then a great account of the Lord is expected. Luc. 12.

3. The Lord will doe what he will with his owne. He owes you no mercy.

Exod 33.19. I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious & I will shew mercy to whom I will show mercy.

4. Call to mind what a cutt, what a gnawing worme it will be

(ye Lord forbid it) if ever you cast your eye up toward heaven, & see so many branches in the bosome of Christ & yr stock rejected.

5. Slight not I beseech you all these late loud alarums & sharp files with which ye Lord hath striven to burnish you Ezech 24.

6. Remember I beseech you your candle is twinkling & glasse neare run ye Lord only knows how few minutes are left behind. Psal 95. 10. Fourtie years was I grieved, then I swore in my wrath they should never enter into my rest. No heart but a trembling heart can get assurance ye Lord hath not sworne: to yt heart he hath sworne to be gracious. In yt Petition my soule follows hard after him & still will I wrastle untill you say a blessing is come, a blessing of a heart softened & trembling of a Soule gasping after Jesus Christ. A blessing of Joye refreshing to the faithfull & to him who is ever.

Your Ladiships most faythfull and
truly ob servant
ROGER WILLIAMS

From this correspondence, the authorship of which no one familiar with the writings of Williams will question, is drawn corroborative evidence of the identity of the Roger Williams of history with Roger, the son of James. The attentive reader will note the allusion of the writer of these letters, to his aged mother, then living, and will compare their date with that of her death, already noted; and he will note also that the inheritance of Roger, the son of James, by his mother's will did not vary greatly in amount from the sum of his expectations as stated in the first of these letters.

But this corroborative evidence is the least interesting of the information to be gleaned from these letters. They serve to inform us concerning the residence of Williams in the year 1629, two years after his graduation from Cam-

bridge. It was, undoubtedly, at High Laver, Essex, and not far removed from Chelmsford, where lived and preached the Rev. Thomas Hooker, in later years the founder of the colony at Hartford. That Williams and Hooker were neighbors and friends Williams intimates to us, when he records a memorable ride, which these two worthies took, in company with John Cotton, discoursing and arguing by the way, concerning the use of the Book of Common Prayer. "Possibly Master Cotton may call to minde," he writes, "that the discusser (riding with himself and one other person of precious memory(Master Hooker) to and from Sempringham) presented his arguments from Scripture, why he durst not join with them in their use of Common prayer."[1]

In this connection also, as serving the further to identify the Roger Williams of history, with the chaplain at High Laver, Essex, is a passage in the Reverend William Hubbard's *General History of New England*, wherein the Ipswich minister says of Roger Williams:

"In this manner did overheated zeal vent itself in the said Mr. Williams, of whom they were wont to say *in Essex, where he lived*, that he was divinely mad."[2]

But, more interesting yet than these matters, these letters disclose to us one of the heretofore hidden chapters in the life of Roger Williams. He was now twenty-seven years of age, an age at which a man is not apt to make hasty decisions in affairs of the heart. The mother-in-law of Williams' patron, Lady Joan Barrington, widow of Sir Francis Barrington, baronet, who had died a year

[1]Roger Williams' *The Bloudy Tenant Yet More Bloudy*—Publications of the Narragansett Club, iv, 65.

[2]*A General History of New England*, by William Hubbard, minister at Ipswich, 1680.

before, had, as a member of her household, a niece, a certain Jane Whalley.[1] She was a daughter of Richard Whalley and a sister of Major General Edward Whalley, in later years famous as one of the judges who condemned King Charles I to death. Her mother was Frances Cromwell, a sister of Lady Barrington and of Robert Cromwell, the father of the Lord Protector. Of her brother Edward, it will be remembered that he was one of that little company of regicides, who succeeded in making their escape to New England, from the wrath of Charles II, after the restoration. The story of Goffe, of his life in seclusion at Boston, at New Haven, and, afterwards at Hadley; of his sudden appearance, as of an angel from heaven, to lead the surprised colonists to victory, against an attack by hostile Indians, and his equally sudden disappearance when danger no longer threatened, is one of the most romantic in the history of the early days of our country.

It is not strange that Roger Williams, occupying as he did, an honored place in the household of Sir William Masham, should have made himself familiar in that of the mother of Lady Masham. Neither is it strange that he should have looked with pleasure upon the youthful niece of that lady, who made her home with her aunt, and should have desired to marry her. It would appear, from certain passages in these letters, that his affection for her was, in some degree, reciprocated. Certain it is that his attentions to Miss Whalley had been so marked as to cause wide-spread comment, so that, at length, he was fain to absent himself from Hatfield Priory, and send, in his stead, a "paper deputy", in which he laid the whole matter before her ladyship.

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[1] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, January, 1891, pp. 70, 71.

That he was advised to do so is quite certain. He confesses to Lady Barrington his love for her niece, and proceeds in a business-like manner, to a discussion of her qualities and his own. He intimates that some have warned him that his sweetheart has a temper of her own; and he admits that her rank in life is far above his own. Their fortunes, however, he thinks will compare favorably, for she has no expectations, by reason, perhaps, of the prior claims of her brother Edward. As for himself, he confesses that he has no fortune, beyond his modest expectations from his mother, a limited amount of cash in hand, and a small library. He has, he declares, declined two church livings, each of which yields one hundred pounds yearly, because of a "tender conscience"; and he assures her ladyship that he is so entirely suited with his present position that nothing would induce him to leave it.

From the tenor of the second letter, it is evident that Lady Barrington's reply to the first was a denial of his suit. Perhaps the refusal was a trifle peremptory. The acerbity of tone of Williams' reply would so indicate, for, in no uncertain manner, he predicts for Lady Barrington an unhappy hereafter, except she repent.

It is not difficult to imagine the anger of Lady Barrington, at the receipt of this epistle; and we may easily understand that his usefulness as chaplain to Sir William Masham was brought to a sudden close. In spite of his expressed determination to remain at Otes, his office was, no doubt declared vacant, and Williams was obliged to seek other means of livelihood. He had already, as indicated in the first letter, received a "New England call," but to what church is unknown; and the sudden change in his fortunes, doubtless, led him to consider seriously, its acceptance. At this juncture too, he attracted the attention of Archbishop Laud, who was

ever on the alert for active Separatists, and a prison door yawned before him. In one of his letters to Mrs. Sadlier, before alluded to, and which will be more particularly considered later in our study,—occurs this passage:

My much honored friend, that man of honor and wisdom and piety, your dear father [Sir Edward Coke] was often pleased to call me his son; and truly it was as bitter as death to me when Bishop Laud pursued me out of this land, and my conscience was persuaded against the national church and ceremonies and bishops, beyond the conscience of your dear father. I say it was as bitter as death to me, when I rode Windsorway, to take ship at Bristow and saw Stoke House, where the blessed man was, and I durst not acquaint him with my conscience and my flight.[1]

On his arrival at Boston he was urged to supply the place of the Reverend John Wilson, who was about to return to England for an extended visit. It has been supposed that the congregation of the First Church in Boston took advantage of what appeared to be a special providence in his coming, to supply their pulpit, in the absence of their pastor. From this passage in the first of these Barrington letters it would appear probable that the church had had correspondence with him in advance of his coming, and that this was the "call" to which he referred.

It was in May, 1629, that these events, just narrated, occurred. It was, then, about nineteen months later that, having made the decision to emigrate to New England, Williams set sail from Bristol, in the ship *Lyon*.[2] Nor did

[1] *The Sadlier Letters*—Publications of the Narragansett Club, vi, 239.

[2] It must be remembered, that in the XVIIth century, the year was reckoned from March 25 and not from January 1, as in these days. Hence, February, the month of Williams' arrival, was the eleventh month of the year, and February, 1630, would be the twenty-first month after May, 1629. The voyage was about two months in dur-

he go alone. That he had, in these intervening months, succeeded in banishing from his mind his hopeless love for Jane Whalley, and in filling her place in his affections with another, is evident from the record of Winthrop, that his wife accompanied him upon the voyage. Who was this lady is not known; and, save that her name was Mary, and that she proved to him a true and loyal wife, the record is meagre. For many years her maiden name was unknown and the genealogist was baffled in searching for a clew. In the issue of the *New England Historical Genealogical Register* for January, 1899, Mr. Almon D. Hodges, jr., contributes a valuable discovery throwing light upon this point. He has found in a letter from William Harris to Capt. Deem, November 14, 1666,[1] a reference to a brother of Mrs. Williams, by name Warnerd, or Warnard.[2] It is therefore concluded that this was the maiden name of the wife of Williams, but more than this we know little. We are sure, however, that she was a woman of some decision of character, for, as we shall find later, she, upon one occasion at least, refused to allow her husband to control her conscience, in matters of religious observance; and was, as a result, excluded from participation in the religious services which he set up in his own house.

It is of interest to follow, for a time, the fortunes of Williams' first love, Jane Whalley. It is certain that, although the addresses of Roger Williams were rejected,—it is to be presumed on account of his poverty,—the young

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ation, as already stated, so that he set sail in the nineteenth month after his quarrel with Lady Barrington.

[1]Published in a pamphlet entitled *Some William Harris Memoranda*, Providence, 1876.

[2]Both forms of spelling are found in the letter.

lady became, afterwards, the wife of a Puritan clergyman, the Reverend William Hooke, a graduate of Oxford University. He was vicar of Axmouth, in Devonshire, but, eight years after the emigration of Williams, he too came with his wife, to New England, and became a pastor at Taunton, Massachusetts. From 1644 to 1656 he was settled at New Haven, Connecticut. Later, he returned to England and became the private chaplain of his wife's cousin-german, Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England.

CHAPTER II

In February of 1630, then, we find the Reverend Roger Williams entering upon a new life. He had reached New England, after a tempestuous voyage, in midwinter. It would appear, as discussed in the last chapter, that he had not come wholly as an adventurer, seeking new lands and new scenes. In addition to the already quoted passage in the first letter to Lady Barrington, we know from the writings of Williams, years after, that he was called to be the teacher at the First Church in Boston, but that he declined, as he himself said, in a letter written to John Cotton, the younger, under date of March 25, 1671. "Being unanimously chosen teacher at Boston," he wrote, "(before your dear father came, divers years,) I conscientiously refused, and withdrew to Plymouth, because I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as upon examination and conference I found them to be."[1]

In this we find renewed indication that Roger Williams was imbued with the tenets of the Separatists, or "Brownists." His advent among the colonists at Boston was hailed with pleasure. Their pastor, the Reverend John Wilson was about to sail for England, for a visit of some months duration, and, indeed, he did actually sail upon the homeward voyage of the same ship which had brought Mr. Williams. The latter was at once recognized as the natural substitute for the furloughed pastor; but a cloud intervened.

It does not yet appear by what means, and in what manner Roger Williams became associated with the Separa-

[1] Publications of the Narragansett Club, vi, 356.

tists and imbued with their doctrines. That his inclinations were towards Puritanism is readily accounted for in his education at Cambridge—the Puritan tendencies of which were well known—and in his residence in a section of the country thoroughly imbued with that sentiment. But that he had adopted the extreme views of the Separatists, and that he maintained them in America, almost to the colony's undoing, is undoubtedly true.

With this movement for Separation the colonists at Salem, led by Endecott, and at Boston under the government of Winthrop, had little sympathy. They had not been required to steal away from their country by night, as had the men and women of Scrooby, a few years before. They had gone forth openly, bearing the king's charter, and with the avowed purpose of founding a colony upon the American coast. They were of the Puritan wing; yet it seems remarkable, and a matter not easy of explanation, that Roger Williams had not, before setting out for America, been made aware of the broad religious distinction between the colonists of the Bay and their brethren at Plymouth. That he was not aware, until he reached Boston, of the fact that the colonists there were not Separatists, is made positive by the passage from Williams' letter to John Cotton the younger, already quoted. Having made this discovery, he not only refused, peremptorily, to exercise his gifts as a religious teacher in the colony, but he disclosed a disputatious spirit, an intimation of which we have already received in his letter to Lady Barrington, after that lady's rejection of his suit for the hand of her niece. Williams was now scarcely thirty years of age, while Winthrop, the governor of the Colony, was more than a dozen years his senior. In experience, also, and as a man of affairs, Winthrop was, doubtless, far the superior of Williams. When, therefore, this young man and new-comer among them, in

appearance, perhaps, scarcely more than a stripling, assumed the position of a mentor, and severely scored Winthrop and his people, because they differed with him in methods of polity, it is little wonder if he was regarded with amazement.

Williams demanded, first of all, that the members of the Boston church should publicly express their repentance, for the sin of having communed with the Church of England, during their residence there. Next, he claimed that the magistrates had no right to punish infractions of the first table of the Decalogue. Inasmuch as the first table was then understood to forbid idolatry, blasphemy and Sabbath breaking, it cannot be wondered that these opinions were not graciously received.[1] Indeed, to this day, profane swearing and ordinary labor upon the Lord's Day are forbidden by law in Massachusetts.

Williams' stay in Boston was short. There is some evidence that he received an intimation that his teachings would be acceptable to the church at Salem. Whether, indeed, he did, for a time, serve that church as teacher, in a desultory manner, is itself quite uncertain, although it is not improbable that he did so.

"Unfortunately, however, the first book of records of the First Church in Salem is not in existence. When John Higginson became the minister, in 1660, a committee was chosen to revise the record-book of the church, which, it was asserted, was old, worn, and, moreover, contained much matter whose preservation was scarcely to be desired. The committee was to make copies of such parts as needed to be preserved, after which the old book was to be put away from common use, and possibly the design was to put it beyond all future use. At any rate it disappeared and its fate is not known. What was supposed to be of permanent value was copied into a new book of records

[1]Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Hartford Ed. 1883, ii, 495.

then begun. The probability is that just what made the minister and members of 1660 desirous to have the old book suppressed as discreditable was, in large part, the Roger Williams controversy."[1]

It is certain, then, that the records of the church at Salem, to-day, contain little or no allusion to Williams. That it was proposed to employ Williams as a teacher in Salem, almost immediately after his attack upon the Boston church is made certain from a record made by Governor Winthrop on the twelfth of April, 1631.[2]

At a court holden at Boston (upon information to the Governour that they of Salem had called Mr. Williams to the office of teacher) a letter was written from the court to Mr. Endecott to this effect, that whereas Mr. Williams had refused to join with the congregation at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they lived there; and besides had declared his opinion that the magistrates might not punish the breach of the Sabbath, nor any other offence, as it was a breach of the first table, therefore they marvelled they would choose him without advising with the council; and withal desiring him that they would forbear to proceed till they had conferred about it.

We find, then, that, within two months after his arrival in New England, Roger Williams had already met with disaster in his relations with the colonists at Boston, and had received a call from the church at Salem, to the office of teacher. The Reverend Samuel Skelton, at that time the pastor of the church at Salem, was in declining health. The position of teacher did not, probably carry

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[1]The quotation is from a letter addressed to the author, by the Rev. E. B. Willson, minister of the First Church in Salem, and President of the Essex Institute, dated August 2, 1894.

[2]Winthrop's *History of New England*, i, 63.

with it the duties and dignities of a full pastorate, save in the absence of the pastor. Yet it was a position of great importance and honor in the Colony, and very nearly corresponded to that of assistant pastor. It is not impossible that the call from the Salem church may have been extended to him while he was yet in England, and that this was the "New England call" to which he alludes in his letter to Lady Barrington. This, however, seems scarcely probable, from the fact that he, upon his arrival at Boston, appears to have entertained the proposition to serve the church in that town, until he discovered that he could not agree with them in points of doctrine. But, in view of the loss of the early records of the Salem church, this must remain a conjecture. Hubbard, in his allusions to Williams, records that "immediately after his arrival he was called by the church at Salem to join with Mr. Skelton;"[1] but Williams himself, in his letter to the younger Cotton, already alluded to, makes no mention of the Salem call, but says that, being unable to agree with the brethren at Boston, he "withdrew and went to Plymouth."

At first thought it may not be apparent why Mr. Williams is not recorded as unwilling to minister to the people, as well of Salem as of Boston. But it must be remembered that the non-conformity of the Puritan settlers differed in degree. The ministers of the early colonists were all clergymen of the Church of England, as, indeed, was Roger Williams himself, as we have already learned. The churches of Salem and Dorchester were peculiar, in that they disregarded an Episcopal ordination as a qualification for the pastoral office, among themselves, and, adopting the Congregational mode, required a new or-

[1]Hubbard, ii, 203.

dination. The ordinations of Samuel Skelton and Francis Higginson were performed by committees chosen by the congregation, thus ignoring their Episcopal ordination. At Salem an incident occurred, which shows the intensity of the Separatist feeling. Two brothers, John and Samuel Browne, did not approve of this action towards the English church, and, with a few others, who were like-minded, preferred to worship by themselves, making use of the Book of Common Prayer. There was no charge against these two men, that they were not good neighbors and otherwise excellent citizens; but their conduct in this matter was regarded as subversive of good order, and they were sent back to England.

When, on the other hand, John Wilson was chosen pastor of the church at Charlestown,—afterwards at Boston,—although he was installed in his office by the imposition of hands, this ceremony was held, as Winthrop is careful to explain, "with this protestation by all, that it was only a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."[1] When we add to these circumstances the fact that the organizers of the church at Salem sought counsel of their Plymouth brethren, we are not at loss to understand why Williams looked towards Salem with an approving eye, while he declined to affiliate with the church at Boston.

The plan of a settlement at Salem having come to naught Mr. Williams removed to Plymouth, a colony then under a government of its own, and not subject to the authorities of Massachusetts Bay. Here he remained about the space of two years, was admitted a member of the church, and served the people and the church in

[1] John Winthrop's *History of New England.*

the capacity of teacher, and as an assistant to the pastor, the Reverend Ralph Smith. He felt no conscientious scruples against ministering to these people, for as has already been said, they were in full accord and sympathy with the doctrines and ideas of the Separatists. He was welcomed heartily by the magistrates and the people, and, as Governor Bradford records, "he was friendly entertained, according to their poore abilitie, and exercised his gifts among them, and after some time was admitted a member of ye church."[1]

The record of his life, from day to day, among the Pilgrims is meagre. We have a delightful glimpse of it, however, in Governor Winthrop's account of a visit of a week at Plymouth, in return of a similar visit paid by Governor Bradford at Boston. The good ship Lyon, which, as we have seen, brought Roger Williams to New England, in 1630, set sail from England, upon her next voyage, in August of the next year. She had, among her passengers, John Eliot, who became the apostle to the Indians, and Margaret, the wife of John Winthrop. The joy of the governor when, in November, the ship arrived, was fully shared by the colonists. As the governor himself records, "at their landing, the captains with their companies in arms, entertained them with a guard, and divers vollies of shot and three drakes; and divers of the assistants and most of the people of the plantations came to welcome them, and brought and sent for divers days, great store of provisions, as fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partriges, etc. so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New England."[2] The occasion was celebrated by a day of thanksgiving,

[1]Governor Bradford's *History of Plimouth Plantation*, Commonwealth ed. p. 369.

[2]Winthrop, i, p. 84.

and, the good news having reached Plymouth, Governor Bradford hurried to the Bay, to add his congratulations to those of the Bay brethren.

About a year later, in October, 1632, the *Lyon* again lay at anchor in the harbor of Boston, and Governor Winthrop determined to return the friendly visit of his friend Bradford. Accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of that month, he invited the Reverend John Wilson to accompany him, and the two went on board the *Lyon*. Having expressed their wishes to the master of the vessel, Mr. Peirce, the latter took them on board his shallop and conveyed them on their journey as far as Wessagusset, now called Weymouth. Here he left them and returned to his ship which, two days later set sail, with a north-westerly wind, bound for Virginia. It was her last voyage, for, six days after, the good ship *Lyon* was wrecked on the Virginia coast; and it may be that, even to-day, her bones lie hidden in the sands of Cape Charles.[1]

Winthrop and Wilson, upon landing at Wessagusset, started off bravely on foot through the forest, under the guidance of one Luddam, following, no doubt, an Indian trail, the trace of which is still visible, in the direction of Plymouth. The settlement was about twenty-five miles distant, and the road was none of the smoothest; and yet it was in the beautiful Indian summer time, that they thus journeyed, when the woods were blue with asters, when the sunflower reflected its golden petals in the brooks and, in the swamps, blazed the cardinal flower. It was, no doubt, one of those soft, mild days, one of those perfect days, that come often to New England, in the late autumnal time. The long

[1]Winthrop, 1, 101.

walk, through the sweet woods and brilliant fields must have been well enjoyed by the two devout men, and one can readily imagine of what they talked, as they journeyed on together.

Just as night began to fall around them, and as the frog began his guttural serenade in the marshes, and the tree-toad began to sing his merry monotone, they saw, glimmering through the trees, the welcome lights of the homes of Plymouth. They were not unexpected guests, for the colonists were watching for their approach and, as they emerged from the shadow of the woods, a party, with two men of unusual dignity of bearing at its head, advanced to meet the travellers. Let Governor Winthrop tell the story, himself, in his own quaint language.

> The governour of Plimouth, Mr. William Bradford, (a very discreet and grave man), with Mr. Brewster, the elder, and some others, came forth and met them without the town and conducted them to the governour's house, where they were very kindly entertained, and feasted every day at several houses.[1]

The story which Winthrop tells us of the manner in which the Sunday of his visit was spent, gives us the only view which we have of the life of Roger Williams among these people. Let us continue the narrative in Winthrop's own words:

> On the Lord's day there was a sacrament which they did partake in; and in the afternoon, Mr. Roger Williams (according to their custom) propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly; then Mr. Williams prophesied; and after the governour of Plimouth spake to the question; after him the elder; then some two or three of the congregation. Then the elder desired the governour of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their

[1] Winthrop, i, 109.

duty of contribution; whereupon the governour and all the rest went down to the decon's seat and put into the box and then returned.[1]

The story of the return of Governor Winthrop and Mr. Wilson to Boston, at the close of their visit at Plymouth, is of interest, as quaintly recorded by the Governor. Thus he writes:

Wednesday, about 5 in the morning the governour and Mr. Wilson came out of Plymouth; the governour of Plymouth, with the pastor and elders, etc. accompanied them near half a mile out of town in the dark. The Lieut. Holmes with two others and the governour's mare came along with them to the great swamp about 10 miles; when they came to the great river they were carried over by one Luddam their guide, as they had been when they came, the stream being very strong and up to the crotch. So the governour called that passage Luddam's Ford. Thence they came to a place called Hue's Cross. The governour being displeased at that name, in respect that such things might hereafter give the Papists occasion to say that their religion was first planted in these parts, changed the name and called it Hue's Folly. So they came, that evening to Wessaguscus, where they were bountifully entertained as before with stores of turkeys, geese, ducks, etc., and the next day came safe to Boston.[2]

For two years, then, Roger Williams lived among the people of Plymouth and went in and out among them, exercising his gift of "prophesy," or, as we of to-day say, of exhortation and instruction. But, as we have already seen in his correspondence with Lady Barrington, and as we shall see most abundantly, in the days to come, Mr. Williams was of an exceedingly disputatious temper, was fond of argument, and more than these, was disposed to form unique opinions, and entertain erratic notions, and had

[1]Winthrop, i, 110.
[2]Ibid.

scant feeling of charity for those who ventured to differ with him. This disputatious temperament is well shown in a matter of controversy, which, for a time, had been warmly discussed in Plymouth and which was brought up anew during Winthrop's visit, that his opinion might be obtained upon the matter at issue. The common habit of the day was to address men who were in ordinary walks of life, by the term "Goodman." Williams contended that such an appellation was blasphemous, inasmuch as the Saviour is recorded as having said: "Why callest thou me good; there is none good but one, that is God." Certain of the leading men of the colony took issue with Williams, while others, as is natural, accepted his view. A controversy arose upon this trivial matter, and waxed so earnest that the entire people of the settlement were arrayed one against another in dispute. The coming of Winthrop and Wilson was hailed with pleasure, and the question was submitted to them as arbitrators. Winthrop, after due consideration, gave answer that the expression criticised seemed to him to be a mere conventionality, and he quoted the formula of the sheriff, in summoning a jury of "good men and true," which in the manner is understood to refer to the moral qualities of the persons selected as jurors. He suggested that the use of the terms "Goodman" and "Goodwife" were merely ancient customs and without theological import, and that the matter was scarcely worthy of serious dispute.

Happily, these well considered words of Winthrop served to allay the controversy. But this was only one of the many matters which Williams, during his life in Plymouth, made to serve as bones of contention. He was unable to bring all, or even the major part of the colonists to his standard, in matters of little or great import. The dignified and scholarly Bradford was an especial object of his attacks

and him he did not hesitate, at times, sharply to rebuke, not, probably, concerning matters of personal conduct, but in points of theology wherein they differed.

In the second year of his stay with them, these controversies, precipitated by Williams, began to be more frequent, and to increase in acrimony, and at length ripened into a desire, upon his part, to seek a new field and new associates. Accordingly, he left Plymouth and the brethren there and, accompanied by a handful of adherents, bent his steps toward the plantation at Salem, where once already he had been summoned as a teacher.

The residence of Mr. Williams and his wife at Plymouth was made happy, and, to them, memorable; for here, early in August, 1633, their first child was born to them, and was given the name of her mother, Mary.

And so his two years of life in the Old Colony came to a close, and he parted from his brethren there, not in anger; and yet, he had not gained among them a reputation for largeness of vision, for Bradford makes this record:

Mr. Roger Williams (a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgemente) came over first to ye Massachusets, but upon some discontente left yt place and came hither, (wher he was friendly entertained, according to their poor abilitie) and so exercised his gifts amongst them & after some time was admitted a member of ye church; and his teaching well approved, for ye benefite wherof I still blese God, and am thankfull to him, even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so farr as they agreed with truth. He this year begane to fall into some strang oppinions and from opinion to practise; which caused some controversie betweene ye church & him, and in ye end some discontente on his parte, by occasion wherof he left them something abruptly, yet afterwards sued for his dismission to ye church of Salem, which was granted, with some caution to them concerning him, and what care they ought to have of him. But he soone fell into more things ther,

both to their and ye governments troble and disturbance. I shall not need to name perticulers, they are too well knowen now to all, though for a time ye church here wente under some hard censure by his occasion, from some that afterwards smarted themselves. But he is to be pitied and prayed for, and so I shall leave ye matter, and desire ye Lord to shew him his cross, and reduce him into ye way of truth, and give him setled judgment and constenicie in ye same: for I hope he belongs to ye Lord; and yt he will shew him mercy.[1]

We have but slight evidence that Winthrop and Williams had met in England, before the coming of either to this country. That the latter was known to Winthrop, at least by reputation, before his arrival at Boston, may be inferred from the governor's record of the arrival of Williams, and his characterization of him as "a godley minister." But, throughout the career of Williams in this country, both in the Bay Colony and in the Providence Plantations, we have undoubted evidence that Winthrop, although he seldom agreed with him in matters controversial, held the other in esteem and affection. The earliest letter of Roger Williams extant—save the two already shown—is addressed to John Winthrop, and was written at Plymouth, probably in the year 1632. It is written in the same obscure terms, which characterize the letters addressed to Lady Barrington, which feature marks, indeed, a peculiarity of Williams's epistolary style. It is evident, from this letter, that the writer had previously received one or more letters of friendly import from Winthrop, in which letters acknowledgment had been made of some kindly offices proffered by the Plymouth brethren. It would also appear that Williams had been consulted by Winthrop regarding some details of ecclesiastical or political practice. It would seem, also, that Winthrop had offered to under-

[1]Bradford, Commonwealth, ed. p. 369.

take the importation of some cattle for Williams, or perhaps for the Plymouth colonists, who, at this time, were communists.. The letter, in a remarkable degree breathes the spirit of friendliness and good will.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For the right worshipful John Winthrop, Esq.,
Governor of the English in the Massachusetts.

Plymouth [1632]

Much honored and beloved in Christ Jesu:—

Your Christian acceptance of our cup of cold water is a blessed cup of wine, strong and pleasant to our wearied spirits. Only let me crave a word of explanation; among other pleas for a young councellor (which I fear will be too light in the balance of the Holy One) you argue from twenty five in a church elder; 'tis a riddle as yet to me whether you mean an elder in these New English churches or, (which I believe not) old English—disorderly functions, from whence our Jehova of armies more and more redeemed his Israel—or the Levites who served from twenty five to fifty, Numb. 8, 24; or myself but a child in everything, (though in Christ called, and persecuted even and out of my father's house these 20 years) I am no elder in any church, no more nor so much as your worthy self, nor ever shall be, if the Lord please to grant my desires that I may intent what I long after, the natives' souls, and yet if I at present were I should be in the days of my vanity nearer upwards of 30 than 25; or whether Timothy or Titus be in thought, &c., at your leisure I crave interpretation. Sorry I am since Rationals so much circumround and trouble you, that *bestiale quid* (and mine especially) should come near you; but since the Lord of Heaven is Lord of Earth also, and you follow him as a dear child, I thankfully acknowledge your care and love about the cattle and further entreat if you may (as you give me encouragement) procure the whole of that second and let me know how, and how much payment will be here accepted, or in money in England. The Lord Jesus be with your spirit and your dearest

one and mine in their extremities. To you both and all the Saints our due remembrances.

Yours in unfeigned and brotherly affection,

Roger Williams.

The brethren salute you. You lately sent music to our ears when we heard you persuaded (and that effectually and success fully) our beloved Mr. Nowell to surrender up one sword; and that you were preparing to seek the Lord further; a duty not so frequent with Plymouth as formerly; but *spero meliora.*

Mr. Williams himself makes a brief record of his life in Plymouth, in his letter to John Cotton, the younger, already quoted.[1] From this we learn that, although studious and thoughtful, ready with tongue and pen, he was mindful of the temporal affairs of life, and did not hesitate to perform his allotted share of the work of the field.

"At Plymouth," he wrote. "I spake on the Lord's days and week days and wrought hard at the hoe for my bread (and so afterward at Salem), until I found them both professing to be a separated people in New England (not admitting the most godly to communion without a covenant) and yet communicating with the parishes in Old by their members repairing on frequent occasions thither."[1]

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[1]Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1855-1858,315; Pub. Nar. Club, vi, 356.

CHAPTER III

The removal of Williams from Plymouth to Salem, an event which occurred probably in the autumn of the year 1633, was, in reality, the beginning of his career in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. It is probable that his first stay in Boston, and in Salem—if, indeed, he did really go to Salem before his withdrawal to Plymouth—did not cover more than four or five months of time. At Plymouth he was without the jurisdiction of the magistrates of the Bay; and, indeed, they were in no manner brought into controversy with him, during his stay there, save as has already been recorded. His arrival at Salem, however, was followed by a series of disputes, precipitated by him, which threw the entire colony into disorder, and resulted finally in his banishment from the jurisdiction.

The composition of the Salem settlement, with its Separatist tendencies, has already been discussed. Still, the church there was, constructively, in fellowship with the English church, and one may be allowed faintly to wonder why Roger Williams had no trouble of conscience in ministering to them, since he was debarred by conscience from remaining with the Boston church. But, nevertheless, having arrived at Salem, Williams wrote to the church at Plymouth, desiring letters of dismissal to the Salem church. These were granted, "with some caution to them concerning him and what care they ought to have of him."[1] At once he entered upon his work as teacher. Yet he was

[1] Bradford, p. 370; *et vide* Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, ii, 496.

not formally installed in office, but ministered to the people even as he had done in Plymouth. The spirit of controversy, which had already displayed itself as a prominent trait of his character, could not long remain in abeyance. The ministers of the colony were wont to assemble from Newetown, (Cambridge) Watertown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Salem and elsewhere, "at one of their houses by course, for the purpose of discussing and consulting upon questions of common interest." One cannot help recalling a similar custom which prevails in many of the cities of New England at the present day, of the assembling of the clergy of the various denominations, each in their own place of meeting, on successive Monday mornings for discussion and conference. It was not long after Williams' arrival at Salem, in November, 1633, that he "took some exception against it as fearing it might grow in time to a presbytery, or superintendency, to the prejudice of the churches' liberty. But this fear was without cause, for they were all clear on that point, that no church or person can have power over another church, neither did they in their meetings exercise any such jurisdiction."[1]

This attack upon the association was the first muttering of the storm that was to follow—a storm which shook the Colony of Massachusetts Bay to its foundations, and well nigh destroyed its stability. In December, 1633, Williams had promulgated an idea which was, in effect, a formal attack upon the very groundwork of the colonial structure. He forwarded to the governor and assistants a treatise which he had prepared during his residence at Plymouth, "wherein, among other things, he disputed their right to the lands they possessed here, and concluded that, claim-

[1]Winthrop, i, 139.

ing by the King's grant, they could have no title, nor otherwise, except they compounded with the natives."[1]

So bold and so radical a movement as this at once created alarm among the magistracy, for it was not only an attack upon the validity of the king's patent—the very root and groundwork of their political structure— but it implied a reflection upon the royal prerogative, which, prior to the reign of Anne, included the right to alienate crown lands by grant at pleasure. It was still more than this for, in this treatise, King James was openly charged with having told "a solemn public lie, because, in his patent, he blessed God that he was the first Christian prince that had discovered this land." Again, he charged the king and others "with blasphemy, for calling Europe Christendom, or the Christian World."[2] Still more than this, Winthrop records that Williams "did personally apply to our present king, Charles, these three places in the Revelation, viz." But what were these references to the Apocalypse we can only conjecture, for the historian suddenly paused, evidently with the intent of refreshing his memory in the interest of accuracy, and he never returned to complete his entry.

This attack upon the king could have been no less distasteful to the magistracy of the Bay than was the attack upon the validity of the patent; for they well knew that, were these utterances but to reach the ears of the imperious Charles, they would be regarded as nothing less than treason. A meeting of the governor and assistants was hastily called, on the twenty-seventh day of December, 1633, to take these matters into serious consideration. Endecott, unfortunately, was absent and accordingly a letter was addressed to him by Winthrop, "to let him know what

[1]Winthrop, i, 145.
[2]Idem.

was done and withal added divers arguments to confute the said errors, wishing him to deal with Mr. Williams to retract the same etc. Whereto he returned a very modest and discreet answer."[1]

What were the "arguments" put forth by Winthrop, "to confute the said errors" promulgated by Williams in his treatise, the governor does not record. But they were, without doubt, the same as, or similiar to, those contained in his "Conclusions for the Plantation in New England," wherein he answers "divers objections w^ch^ have been made against this plantation w^th^ their answeares and resolucons:"

Ob: 1: We have noe warrant to enter uppon that land w^ch^ hath been soe long possessed by others.

Answ: 1: That w^ch^ lies comon & hath never been replenished or subdued is free to any that will possesse and improve it, for god hath given to the sonnes of men a double right to the earth, there is a naturall right & a Civill right the first right was naturall when men held the earth in common every man soweing, and feeding where he pleased: and then as men and the cattle increased they appropriated certaine pcells of ground by enclosing, and peculier manurance, and this in tyme gave them a Civill right, such was the right w^ch^ Ephron the Hittite had in the feild of Mackpelah wherein Abraham could not bury a dead corps w^th^out leave, though for the out parts of the Country w^ch^ lay common he dwelt uppon them, & tooke the fruit of them att his pleasure, the like did Jacob w^ch^ fedd his cattle as bold in Hamors land (for he is sayd to be the lord of the Country) and other places where he came as ye native inhabitants themselves & that in those times & places men accoumpted nothing their owne but that w^ch^ they had appropriated by their owne industry, appeares plainly by this that Abimelecks servants in their owne Countrey when they oft contended w^th^ Isaacks servants about wells w^ch^ they hadd digged yett never strove for the land wherein they were. Soe likewise between Jacob & Laban he

[1]Winthrop, i, 145.

would not take a kidd of Labans w^th^out his speciall contract, but he makes noe bargain w^th^ him for the land where they feed, and it is very pbable if the countrey had not been as free for Jacob as for Laban, that covetous wretch would have made his advantage of it, & have upbrayded Jacob w^th^ it, as he did w^th^ his cattle, And for the Natives in New England they inclose noe land neither have any settled habitation nor any tame cattle to improve the land by, & soe have noe other but a naturall right to those countries Soe as if wee leave them sufficient for their use wee may lawfully take the rest, there being more then enough for them & us.

2^dly^ We shall come in w^th^ the good leave of the Natives, who finde benefitt already by our neighbourhood & learne of us to improve pt to more use, then before they could doe the whole, & by this meanes wee come in by valuable purchase: for they hav of us that w^ch^ will yield them more benefitt than all the land w^ch^ wee have from them.

3^dly^ God hath consumed the Natives w^th^ a great plague in those pts soe as there be few in-habitants left.

For a time the disputatious spirit of Williams was stayed, and he wrote a letter to the governor and assistants, "very submissively, professing his intent to have been only to have written for the private satisfaction of the governor, etc., of Plimouth, without any purpose to have stirred any further in it, if the governor here had not required a copy of him; withal, offering his book or any part of it to be burnt." "At the next court," continues Winthrop, "he appeared penitently, and gave satisfaction of his intention and loyalty. So it was left and nothing done in it."[1]

This matter, together with the submission of Mr. Williams, was again taken into serious consideration and made the subject of discussion at a meeting of the gover-

[1]Winthrop, i 145.

nor and council a month later than the date of this record. Governor Winthrop makes this entry under date of January 24, 1633:

> The governor and council met again at Boston to consider of Mr. Williams's letter, etc., when with the advice of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson and weighing his letter and further considering of the aforesaid passages in his book, (which being written in very obscure and implicative phrases, might well admit of doubtful interpretation,) they found the matters not to be so evil as at first they seemed. Whereupon they agreed that, upon his retraction, etc., or taking an oath of allegiance to the king, etc., it should be passed over.[1]

It is worthy of note that, in all the records which we have concerning Roger Williams, this is, during his residence in the Bay Colony, the sole recorded instance in which he is represented as formally receding from a position once assumed. We may, therefore, conclude that his attacks upon the king's patent, and upon the king's personal character, were desired by him to be regarded simply as theories. He was, it may be believed, at heart truly loyal to the government of the colony as established, and loyal to the king. And yet, despite his submission, and his apparent penitence, his proclivity to controversial discussion soon overmastered his good resolutions. It was less than a year after this episode that it became known, to the surprise and discomfiture of the magistrates, that Williams had "stirred further in it" and was again engaged, and now openly and publicly, in denouncing the royal patent, by which the colonists claimed their title to the soil upon which they had erected their homes and upon the authority of which they had built up their political structure.

And now arose a new question, frivolous and trivial,

[1] Ibid, i, 147.

as it seems to us of to-day, but, to the mind of Williams, of serious import. It would appear that his mind was so constructed that he was unable to discern the relative importance of things. When, therefore, he dropped for a time the discussion of the validity of the king's patent, to enforce the notion that women should not appear in public, and especially at church, unveiled, the triviality of the contention does not appear to have appealed to his mind.

In March, 1633, Governor Winthrop makes this record:

> At the lecture at Boston a question was propounded about veils. Mr. Cotton concluded that where, (by the custom of the place,) they were not a sign of women's subjection, they were not commanded by the apostle. Mr. Endecott opposed and did maintain it by general arguments brought on by the apostle. After some debate, the governor, perceiving it to grow to some earnestness, interposed and so it brake off.[1]

By whom this question was propounded at the lecture the annalist leaves us in doubt, but from the fact that Mr. Endecott, an ardent admirer and frequent champion of Williams, maintained a prominent part in the discussion, one may well imagine that the propounder was Mr. Endecott himself, or, it may be, Mr. Williams. At all events it is certain that Mr. Williams introduced the subject to his people at Salem and argued to such good effect that the major portion of the women of his congregation thought it a shame to them to appear in public unveiled.

It was now that Williams first since his arrival in New England, was brought into open controversy with John Cotton. That they were old antagonists we cannot fail to recall; for the memorable ride of Cotton, Williams, and Hooker, to Sempringham, and the earnest discussion by the way are still fresh in memory. They were lifelong

[1] Winthrop, i 149.

antagonists, too, for the fame of Williams as an author rests largely upon his published controversies upon doctrinal points with this same John Cotton. Friendly they were always and often affectionate in their intercourse one with another; and yet, it is probable that, throughout their lives, these two men, so diverse were their habits of thought, were able to find no topic upon which they were in entire accord.

John Cotton had been, for many years, the vicar of the Church of St. Botolph in Boston, Lincolnshire; and when he came to New England, in 1634, he found himself among friends. That very many of the Winthrop company were from the region about Boston, in Lincolnshire is apparent, if in no other way, from the fact of the assumption of the name of the old city, by the newly planted settlement. When, therefore, the former minister of St. Botolph's appeared in the streets of Boston in New England, the welcome of the people was undisguised. He at once was installed as assistant pastor of the First Church in Boston, the position which had been spurned by Williams; and although he had early in his career in his new home, come in rude contact with the people, by advocating, in an election sermon, something which approached the idea of a life tenure of office for the magistracy, he had sufficient tact to refrain from making an offensive hobby of his notion. When Williams put forth his fresh contention concerning the wearing of veils by women, Cotton was quick to discern the weak spot in the armor and to accept the challenge. He saw at once the fallacy of the position of Williams, and he embraced an early opportunity to pass a Lord's Day with the Salem brethren. He was, as a matter of course, invited to speak to the people, but whether by way of preaching, or of "prophesy," cannot now be said.

It is certain that Mr. Williams had many followers and admirers, especially among the women of his flock. Some of his adherents at Plymouth had followed him to Salem, and he had gained very many others from among his new people. So earnest were the women in following his guidance that, when Mr. Cotton arose to speak, he beheld the strange spectacle of a congregation, the greater portion of the female members of which had concealed their features behind impenetrable veils. Mr. Cotton's opportunity was before him and, being sure of his position, he would have been more than human had he not taken an inward pleasure in flooring his old antagonist upon his own ground and from his own pulpit. He launched into a discussion of the subject before him in so open an object lesson, and discountenanced the practice of wearing veils upon scriptural grounds. He showed them that, among the ancient Hebrews, it was the young virgins only, whose habit it was to go in public closely veiled; and that this rule in no manner applied to other women. The only exceptions to this rule, among the Hebrews, he found in the harlots, citing the case of Tamar, who "covered herself with a veil and wrapped herself and sat in an open place"—an example which none of his hearers were anxious to be regarded as following.[1]

Lastly, Mr. Cotton quoted the case of Ruth who, in her widowhood was wrapped about with a veil, as related in Ruth III, 15. Now, inasmuch as his female auditors, who sat before him, with their faces securely hidden, were not all maidens, nor yet all widows, and none were dissolute women of the town, scriptural arguments in favor of the universal wearing of veils could not be urged, but quite the contrary.

[1]Genesis XXXVIII, 14, 15.

It was in the forenoon that Mr. Cotton thus vigorously discoursed to the good women of Salem; and when the congregation assembled for the afternoon worship a wonderful change was apparent. Mr. Cotton, so relates the Reverend William Hubbard, "by his doctrine convinced most of the women in the place, that it unveiled them, so as they appeared in the afternoon without their veils, being convinced that they need not put on veils on any such account as the use of that covering is mentioned in the scriptures; and his discourse," continues Mr. Hubbard, "let in so much light unto their understandings that they who before thought it a shame to be seen in the publick without a veil, were ashamed ever after to be covered with them."[1]

Mr. Williams, upon this occasion, seems to have been convinced of the superiority of Mr. Cotton's reasoning, or to have been left without a following, for we hear no more of this notion. Indeed, it was soon forgotten in a matter of much greater moment which, not long after, presented itself.

It is unquestionably true that John Endecott was greatly impressed with the personality of Williams and held his teachings in high regard. As early as 1628 Endecott had come out from England, at the head of a small body of colonists, who added their strength to the feeble settlement at Naumkeag, or Salem, led by Roger Conant, the remnant of John White's Dorchester Associates. He was the provisional governor of the English colonies in New England, until superseded by John Winthrop, the first governor under the charter granted March 4, 1629. But, although no longer the governor, Endecott was a personage of no little influence in the settlement at Salem, and, indeed,

[1]Hubbard, v. 204, 205.

throughout the colony. Hawthorne, in one of his "Twice Told Tales," has drawn with a master hand the picture of this great leader of men, with his sword, in the presence of the train band of Salem, thrusting through and through the standard of England, and tearing from it the cross of St. George.[1] The romancer ascribes this bold act, in a measure fancifully, no doubt, to the reception of a letter, wherein is shown the determination of Charles I, influenced by Archbishop Laud, to send over a governor-general of the colonies and to force upon the people of New England the Episcopal form of worship. Cotton Mather is authority for the statement that to the influence and teachings of Williams are to be ascribed this act—an act which, were its commission to become known in England would, and properly so, be regarded as treason.[2] At the present day, in Massachusetts, any mutilation of, or indignity offered to the national flag, is an offence, punishable by a heavy fine.

This deed of Mr. Endecott alarmed the governor and magistrates; for surely, as matters then stood between the colony and the home government, it was an act of the greatest imprudence, as tending to precipitate a feeling of ill will, then (as we shall see farther on,) rapidly becoming intensified. It was not forgotten that five years before, John and Samuel Browne had been sent back to England because of their determination to conform to the practices of the Church of England, and that, on arriving there they had entered complaint to the king's council, of the non-conformity of the colonists. A meeting of the governor and assistants was hastily called, at the governor's house in Boston, on the twenty-seventh day of November, 1634,

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[1] Endicott and the Red Cross.

[2] *Magnalia Christi Americana*, ii, 499.

to consider the matter. Some of the ministers of the Colony were called into the conference, so grave an affair did this appear to be; and very solemn was this consultation of magistrates and elders. After due consideration it was resolved, in order that all suspicion of participation in, or approval of, the act of Endecott might be averted from them that a letter, to be signed by all, should be addressed to Mr. Downing, in England, the brother-in-law of Winthrop. This letter, it was proposed, should state plainly the exact truth of the matter, expressing their disapproval of the act and their purpose of punishing the offender. Very politic were Winthrop and the magistrates and elders, in the phraseology of this missive, for they wrote it, says Winthrop "with as much wariness as we might, being doubtful of the lawful use of the cross in an ensign, though we were clear that fact, as concerning the matter, was very unlawful.[1]"

Nevertheless, doubtful as were those Puritan settlers, in their disapproval of Romanism, of the propriety of the use of the cross as a national symbol, they were not prepared to bring themselves in direct antagonism with the home government upon this issue. The cross of St. George was a device upon the national colors, and the flag as a symbol of the government to which they owed their allegiance, demanded their reverence. A man prominent in the councils of the colony had defaced it wantonly, and his act must be promptly and formally repudiated. The missive sent to London, disclaiming sympathy with the act of Endecott, was not deemed sufficient to this end. At the session of the Great and General Court, held March 4, 1634-5, the matter was brought up and fully discussed, and it was "voted by the major of the court that the act of Mr. Endecott in altering the crosse in the ensign at Salem

[1]Winthrop, i. 179.

shall be referd for hearing and determining therefor till the next general court."[1] It is to be noted that Endecott was a member of the General Court which passed this resolve, as one of the Assistants, and that he was present at its passage.

The "next General Court," to which this matter was referred, convened May 6, 1635. It was a court of elections, and John Haynes was elected governor. It is noticeable that the name of Endecott does not appear, either among the Assistants, or as one of the deputies to this court. After the election was over, and some minor matters of routine disposed of, "Mr. Brenten, Richard Collicott, Willm. Heath, Abraham Palmer, Edward Stebbens, Mr. Oldham, Tymothy Tomlyns, Francis Weston, Humfry Bradstreet, Mr. Goodwyn, Mr. Ollyver, Mr. Mayhewe, Mr. Spencer were chosen a comitee to consider the act of Mr. Endecott in defacing the colors and to report to the court how far they judge it sensureable."[2]

This committee retired for consultation and, later in the day, made its report, as in the record here shown:—

The comissioners chosen to consider of the act of Mr. Endecott concerning the colors att Salem did reporte to the court that they apprehend hee had offended therin many wayse in rashnes, uncharitableness, indiscrecon and exceeding the limitts of his calling. Whereupon the court hath sensured him to be sadly admonished for his offense, which accordingly he was and also disabled for beareing any office in the comon wealth for the space of a year nexte ensueing.[3]

Thus the executive and legislative departments of the colonial government purged themselves of all complicity

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[1]Massachusetts Colonial Records, i, 37.

[2]Ibid, i, 145.

[3]Ibid, i, 146.

in this unfortunate affair. But, politic as they were, they were not to escape trouble in England, as the result of this teaching of Williams. At the same hastily called meeting of the governor and assistants, at the governor's house, on the twenty-seventh day of November, 1634, after the matter of the mutilation of the colors had been considered, Governor Winthrop records:

> It was likewise informed that Mr. Williams of Salem had broken his promise to us, in teaching publickly against the king's patent, and our great sin in claiming right thereby to this country, etc., and for usual terming the churches of England antichristian. We granted summons to him for his appearance at the next court.[1]

A storm was gathering which presaged distress if not destruction to the colony. Genuine alarm now began to be felt among the magistracy, concerning the possible results of those teachings. The episode of the cross had been promptly denounced by the colony; but yet Williams had very many adherents at Salem. "Divers of the weaker sort of church members," it is recorded, "had been thoroughly leavened with his opinions."[2] The colony, as we shall presently see, had been passing through a critical period in its existence, and the utmost care must be exercised, lest traitors to the colonial government should enter the ranks of the magistracy. Numbers of newcomers were constantly arriving and taking up their homes among them, people concerning whose antecedents they knew nothing. Anticipating this storm, it had been determined, in May, 1634, that an oath of fidelity to the colony should be established, to which all should be asked to subscribe. It was a prudent step to take and one

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[1]Winthrop, i, 180.
[2]Hubbard, ii, 207.

which was essential to the well being and stability of the colonial government.

To require an oath of fidelity of the freemen of the colony was no new feature in its government. Almost from its foundation an oath of this nature had been required, and, indeed, the name of Roger Williams himself appears upon the list of admitted freemen who took and subscribed to the freeman's oath, on the eighteenth day of May, 1631. The name of Samuel Skelton, Mr. Williams' predecessor in the pastorate at Salem, appears in the same list. The new oath, which was adopted May 14, 1634, was more searching in its terms than that at first employed and was in these words:

THE OATH OF FREEMEN AGREED UPON ATT the GENERAL COURT, May 14, 1634.

I, A.B., being by God's pvidence an inhabitant & ffreeman within the jurisdiccon of this comon weale, doe ffreely acknowledge myself subject to the goument thereof, & therefore doe sweare by the greate and dreadfull name of the euer lyveing God that I wil be true & faithful to the same, & will accordingly yeild assistance & support therevnto, with my pson & estate, as in equitie I am bound & will also truely indeavr, to mayntaine & preserue all the liberties & previlidges thereof, submitting my selfe to the wholesome lawes made & established by the same; and further, that I will not plott nor practice any euill against it, nor consent to any that shall soe doe, but will tymely discouer & reveale the same to lawfull aucthority nowe here established for the speedy preventing thereof. Moreover I doe solemnly bind my selfe in the sight of God that when I shal be called to giue my voyce touching any such matter of this state, wherein ffreemen are to deale, I will give my vote & suffrage as I shall judge best to conduce & tend to the publique weale of the body, without respect of

[1]Massachusetts Colonial Records, i, 117.

psons or favr of any man. Soe helpe mee God in the Lord Jesus Christ.[1]

As soon as this plan was adopted Williams saw a fresh subject for controversy and he attacked this new order with all the vigor shown in his movement against the patent. It was not lawful, he declared with vehemence, to require an oath as a test of fidelity, for it was Christ's prerogative alone to have his office established by an oath and because an oath is a part of God's worship, and God's worship is not to be put upon carnal persons. An oath, he declared, is a form of prayer, and it is not lawful for an unregenerate person to pray. Neither, he insisted, is it lawful for a godly man to have communion, either in family prayer, or in an oath, with such as he regards unregenerate.[1]

In this attack upon the custom of administering oaths, it will be observed that Williams maintained a thorough consistency; for we have already seen that he had, at one time in his life, submitted to the loss of considerable money, in the chancery courts in England, rather than submit himself to the imposition of a judicial oath; and yet, that he did take the freeman's oath, in May, 1631, more than a year after his arrival at Boston, affords a puzzle not readily solved.[2]

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[1] *Magnalia Christi Americana*, ii, 507.

[2] Massachusetts Colonial Records, i, appendix.

CHAPTER IV

It will be useful, at this point, to consider the political status of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and its relations to the home government at this period. Allusion has already been made to the fact that this was a critical period in the history of the colony. The reader has already noted the care which was taken by Winthrop and the magistrates to avert from themselves the suspicion of disloyalty, especially in the matter of Endecott's undoubtedly treasonable act of mutilation of the national colors. Winthrop has given the clew to the situation where he records, under date of February 22, 1632, the arrival of the ship *William*, and says: —

By this ship we had intelligence from our friends in England that Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason, (upon the instigation of Sir Christopher Gardiner, Morton and Ratcliff) had preferred a petition to the lords of the privy council, charging us with many false accusations; but through the Lord's good providence and the care of our friends in England, (especially Mr. Emanuel Downing, who had married the governour's sister, and the good testimony given on our behalf by one Capt. Wiggin who dwelt at Pascataquack and had been divers times among us) their malicious practice took not effect. The principal matter they had against us was the letters of some indiscreet person among us, who had written against the church government in England, etc., which had been intercepted by occasion of the death of Capt. Leavitt, who carried them, and died at sea.[1]

Some months later arrived the vessels *William and*

[1] Winthrop i, 119.

Jane, and *Mary and Jane*, bearing letters from the home country. Again, Winthrop records:--

By these ships we understood that Sir Christopher Gardiner and Thomas Morton and Philip Ratcliffe (who had been punished here for their misdemeanours) had petitioned to the king and council against us (being set on by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason, who had begun a plantation at Pascataquack and aimed at the general government of New England for their agent there, Capt. Neal). The petition was of many sheets of paper, and contained many false accusations, (and among them some truths misrepeated) accusing us to intend rebellion, to have cast off our allegiance and to be wholly separate from the church and laws of England; that our ministers and people did continually rail against the State, church and bishops there, etc. Upon which, such of our company as were there in England, viz: Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Humfry and Mr. Cradock were called before a committee of the council, to whom they delivered in an answer in writing; upon reading whereof, it pleased the Lord, our gracious God and Protector, so to work with the lords, and after with the King's majesty, when the whole matter was reported to him by Sir Thomas Jermin, one of the council, (but not of the committee, who yet had been present at the three days of hearing, and spake much in the commendation of the governour, both to the lords and after to his majesty:) that he said he would have them severely punished, who did abuse his governour and the plantation; that the defendants were dismissed with a favourable order for their encouragement, being assured from some of the council, that his majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the Church of England upon us; for that it was considered that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to us; and it was credibly informed to the council that this country would, in time, be very beneficial to England for masts, cordage, etc., if the Sound should be debarred.[1]

The story of this attack upon the integrity of the char-

[1]Winthrop, i, 122.

ter and the result of the hearing by the privy council, is told in greater detail by Governor Winthrop, in a letter addressed to Governor Bradford, in which he encloses a copy of the order of the council.

JOHN WINTHROP TO WILLIAM BRADFORD

Sir:—

Upon a petition exhibited by Sr: Christo. Gardener, Sr: Ferd. Gorges, Captaine Masson, &c., against you and us, the cause was heard before ye lords of ye privy counsell and after reported to ye king, the success wherof maks it evident to all, that ye Lord hath care of his people hear. The passages are admirable and too long to write. I hartily wish an opportunitie to imparte them unto you, being many sheets of paper. But ye conclusion was (against all mens expectation) an order for our incouragemente and much blame and disgrace upon ye adversaries, w^ch^ calls for much thankfulnes from us all, which we purpose (ye Lord willing) to express in a day of thanksgiving to our mercifull God, (I doubt not but you will consider if it be not fitt for you to joyne in it,) who, as he hath humbled us by his late correction, so he hath lifted us up, by an abundante rejoycing, in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so as that w^ch^ our enemies builte their hopes upon to ruine us by, He hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage, as I shall further aquainte you, when occasion shall serve.

The coppy of ye order follows:

At ye courte held at White-hall ye 19. Jan: 1632.

Present.

SIGILLUM.	Lord Privy Seal	Lord Cottinton
	Ea: of Dorsett	Mr. Trer
	Lo: Vi: Falkland	Mr. Vic Chambr
	Lo: Bp: of London	Mr. Sec: Cooke
	Maister Sec: Windebanck	

Wheras his Ma^tie^ hath latly been informed of great distraction and much disorder in yt plantation in ye parts of America called New England, which, if they be true & suffered to

rune on, would tende to ye great dishonour of this kingdome, and utter ruine of that plantation. For prevention wherof and for ye orderly settling of government, according to ye intention of those patents which have been granted by his Ma^tie and from his late royall father King James, it hath pleased his Ma^tie that ye lords & others of his most honorable Privie counsell, should take ye same into consideration, their lordships in ye first place thought fitt to make a comitie of this bord, to take examination of ye matters informed; which comitties having called diverse of ye principall adventures in yt plantation, and heard those that are complanants against them, most of the things informed being denyed and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from yt place, which required a long expence of time; and at presente their lordships finding the adventurers were upon dispatch of men, victles and marchandice for yt place, all of which would be at a stand, if ye adventurers should have discouragemente, or take suspition that the state hear had no good opinion of yt plantation; their lordships, not laying the faulte or fancies (if any be) of some perticuler men upon the generall governmente, or principall adventurers, (which in due time is further to be inquired into) have thought fitt in ye meane time to declare, that the appearences were so faire and hopes so greate, yt the countrie would prove both beneficiall to this kingdom, and profitable to ye perticular adventurers, as yt the adventurers had cause to goe on cherfully with their undertakings and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when ye patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patentes it is appointed, his Majestie would not only maintaine the liberties & privileges heretofore granted, but supply any thing further that might tend to the good governmente, and prosperitie, and comforte of his people ther of that place, &c.

WILLIAM TRUMBALL.[1]

The story of the dream of empire, indulged in by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, for more than a score of years, and

[1]Bradford, 355-357.

of the final extinguishment of his hopes, has, long ago, passed into history. Gorges, who had lain under a heavy cloud, during the latter portion of the reign of Elizabeth, at her death and the accession of James II, having already been released from prison, was restored to his former position as military governor of Plymouth (England). In 1605 one Capt. Weymouth returned to England from a voyage to the coast of Maine and Massachusetts, from whence he brought several Indians, to be sold as slaves. Meeting Capt. Weymouth, Sir Ferdinando Gorges learned from him much concerning the character of the region which was called by the name of New England. The Indians, too, interested him, they having been left in his charge, and from them he, perhaps, learned something of the nature of the country and its resources. In his mind arose the vision of a great province, of which he should be the governor-general, and from which he should reap a fortune in wealth and glory. He had a natural love of adventure and the thought, thus suggested to his mind, was ever present with him. In his dreams Gorges saw forests, crowded to the full with deer, elk and wild birds; lakes and streams teeming with fish; a country where mines of gold and silver and precious stones, rich and rare, were only too easy of access.

In 1606 were granted the charters of the London, and of the Plymouth Companies, and Gorges, attaching to his interests Sir John Popham, a man of wealth, position and influence, connected himself with the latter company. It is evident that the company, as such, beyond obtaining a grant of land, between the forty-first and the forty-fifth degrees of North latitude, made little use of its charter. Exploring parties were sent out, both by Popham and Gorges, and, in 1607, an attempt was made at colonization near the mouth of the Kennebec River. This attempt

survived but a few months. Thereafter, until 1620, Gorges was continually employed in adventures on the New England coast, sending out fishing and trading companies and once even fitting out an expedition to search for gold on Martha's Vineyard. None of those ventures was productive of great returns, and Sir Ferdinando, at the end of fourteen years, except in the acquisition of experience, was no better off than at the beginning. All his attempts at colonization had proved futile and the profits of the fishing and trading expeditions were all absorbed in these abortive efforts.

In 1620 Gorges, unwilling to abandon his idea, and still consumed with the brilliant thought of a great province, over which he should rule, succeeded in infusing something of his enthusiasm into the minds of the king and court. At all events, a large number of men of the peerage, including the Duke of Lenox, Lords Buckingham, Pembroke and others were willing to lend their names to a new enterprise in America. It does not appear that they invested large sums of money in the project, or entered to any considerable extent into its management. A new patent was granted by James, under the title of "The Council Established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the Planting, Ruling, Ordering and Governing of New England in America." The company was colloquially known as "The Council for New England." The grant covered an empire in extent, stretching from the present site of Philadelphia, northward to the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, and westward to the Pacific Ocean. It must be remembered however, that no conception then existed of the immense sweep of territory which lies between the Atlantic and the Pacific seaboards.

Three years were passed in attempts, on the part of

Gorges, to excite an interest in the minds of the noble patentees, in the project of establishing a colony in New England, and to induce them to contribute of their substance to insure its final success. Meanwhile, the patent itself was antagonized by the parliament of 1621, and by the rapidly growing Puritan sentiment of the country. Robert Gorges, the son of Sir Ferdinando, had received from the Council for New England a patent to a tract of land in the vicinity of Massachusetts Bay, but he had not immediately gone out to take possession of, and rule over, his dukedom.

In June, 1623, an attempt was made by Gorges to revive the moribund interest in his project, in the minds of his titled associates, and a proposition was made to parcel out to the patentees, by lot, the territory covered by the patent. A meeting of the Council for New England was held, at which King James himself was present and drew the lot for the absent Buckingham. To Sir Ferdinando fell the region of Maine, and to Robert Gorges was allotted, in general, the region already covered by his patent, the region in which it had been determined that a fresh attempt at settlement should be made.

Three years before this remarkable meeting of the Council for New England, a settlement had been made in New England, within the limits of the grant to the Plymouth Company, but not at the instigation of Gorges. The Mayflower had reached Cape Cod, and the harbor beyond, almost upon the exact date of the signing of the charter of that company. The Pilgrims had endeavored to obtain a charter from King James, but in vain; and, during their voyage, the territory upon which it was afterwards their lot to settle, was granted to a company, whose only object was speculation and adventure. This settlement within the territory under his nominal control

found no opposition in the mind of Gorges, but rather was welcomed by him; and from the Plymouth Company the settlers at Plymouth obtained the patent which had, a few months before, been denied by the king.

Another settlement, a failure, as it afterwards proved, was begun, in 1622, within the territory covered by the Plymouth Company's grant, and, no doubt, within that covered by the patent of Robert Gorges. This attempt also was made without the co-öperation of Gorges, and, indeed, a year previous to the meeting of the Council for New England, at which the territory was parcelled to the patentees by lot. This was the somewhat famous settlement of Thomas and Andrew Weston at Wessagusset, on the south shore of Massachusetts Bay and near the present town of Weymouth. This settlement was established mainly as a trading post. The settlers here were not of such character as would ensure success in such an undertaking; yet it is not to be presumed that Gorges in any wise discouraged this attempt at settlement within his territory. Its failure, after a year or two of distress and disorder, was but a type of subsequent attempts made by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, or under his auspices, to build up the great province of which he, for so many years, had dreamed as under his sway.

A company which went out in 1623, under the leadership of Robert Gorges, to form a new settlement upon the site of Weston's attempt, was composed of far better material for such an adventure than was Weston's company. And yet, it was no more successful; the attempt was abandoned after a winter of great severity, and Robert Gorges himself died, soon after his return to England. The Reverend William Morell, whom Gorges left behind, with a few followers, met with no better success. The trading posts in the Kennebec region came to little and

at the last, when the influence of Sir Ferdinando Gorges on the New England coast was waning to its setting, William Blackstone, in his cabin on the hills of Shawmut; Thomas Walford, in his rude house at Mishawum (Charlestown); Samuel Maverick, in his strong house at Winnisimmet; David Thomson on his island in the bay; and two or three settlers who still lingered in the house erected by Weston, at Wessagusset, alone remained as the fruition of the dreams of Gorges.

In 1628 the Council for New England granted a patent for a settlement near Massachusetts Bay to John Endecott and his company. Not long after, John Gorges, a brother of Robert, to whom had reverted the claims of that adventurer in New England, granted a patent to territory in the same region to John Oldham. Endecott and his associates, who had already settled at Salem, were fearful of a serious complication of interests. Charles I being now king, Endecott, thinking, perhaps, that the influence of the Council for New England might be waning in England, sought a royal charter. Through the influence of John Winthrop, Matthew Cradock and others, aided by Lord Dorchester, this effort was successful and, on the fourth of March, 1629, the charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay was signed. The claims of Gorges were now superseded; and the colonists thenceforth were never at a loss to know where to look for a bitter enemy. So long as Sir Ferdinando Gorges lived all that he was able to do for the injury of the new Puritan plantations in New England, was done with a full heart. A sadly disappointed man, he was forced to see a flourishing colony, in which he had no part, numbering nearly a score of towns and villages, spring up in and about the beautiful harbor, of which he had long dreamed as the site of his principality.

His sense of injury was in no wise lessened in the fact that these successful colonists were Puritans. A cavalier of the cavaliers, he had long been held in distrust by the Puritans. This feeling of hostility Gorges recognized and fully returned. What wonder, then, that he was willing to lose no opportunity to harass and, if it might be possible, to overthrow the Puritan theocracy, which had arisen at the mouth of the Charles. As James I said of the Puritans of England: "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land", so also did Sir Ferdinando declare within himself, but with no reservation, that he would harry these people out of Massachusetts Bay, if intrigue, and influence at court could be made to serve as his successful weapons.

Thus, briefly, have been sketched the chief events of the career of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in his attempts to settle New England. Although it is doubtful if Gorges would ever have been able to carry his plans of empire to fruition, even if the Puritan settlement had not been made, he ever regarded the granting of the charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and the successful establishment of a settlement under it, as the death blow to his ambition.

John Mason, to whom also Winthrop alludes, in his entry quoted, as being associated with Gorges in the attack upon the charter, was a character deserving of mention. We first hear of him as having been sent out by the Plymouth Company, as an agent in charge of a plantation which was attempted, in 1615, in Newfoundland. Seven years later, he appears as a patentee, jointly with Gorges, to a tract of land lying between the Kennebec and the Merrimac rivers. Various conflicting interests appeared, for grants of land were made very loosely, in those days. Notably, the Endecott patent overlapped,

in territory, the Mason grant. In 1629 Mason's grant was confirmed to the land lying between the Merrimac and Piscataqua rivers, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. Throughout their careers as promoters of settlements in New England, Gorges and Mason acted in harmony, and always as antagonists to the interests of the Puritan settlers. They were able to command not a little influence at court. There were many about Whitehall, enemies of the New England colonists and their fellow religionists, who were ever ready to listen to the tongue of slander and to report its whisperings, never lessened in transmission, into the ear of royalty. In this connection it is useful, also, to recall again the case of the deported brothers Browne, the Salem Episcopalians, who had busied themselves in England, in telling their own story of their expulsion, and had put in circulation rumors regarding the alleged intemperate attitude of the colonial ministers and teachers, toward the Church of England, as expressed in their sermons and prayers. And now, anew, came to the ears of the king the continued complaints of Gorges and of Mason, and, inspired by them, the accusations of Sir Christopher Gardiner, Thomas Morton and Philip Ratcliff.

Who, then, were these three worthies who were thus making known at court their grievances and aiming at the revocation of the charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay? A sketch of their careers in New England will not be unprofitable, as showing the animus which impelled this hostility toward the young colony. Sir Christopher Gardiner is a character unique in the history of the New England colonies. He appeared suddenly in these parts, in 1631, at about the time that the *Arbella*, with Winthrop and his company on board, dropped anchor in Salem harbor. He announced himself to the colo-

nists, when they arrived, as a knight of the "Order of the Golden Melice"; and he built him a dwelling near the south bank of the Neponset river and not far from its mouth. Here he dwelt, in company with a young woman, whom he represented to be his cousin and housekeeper. He resided in considerable state, with servants and, evidently, well provided with such comforts as the wilderness made it possible for him to enjoy. Here the Plymouth people found him and, finding so fine a gentleman, and a pretty young woman, dwelling thus apart from civilization, it is little wonder that their curiosity was excited.

Sir Christopher would appear to have been somewhat reticent regarding his object in thus settling in the wilderness, merely explaining his presence as being due to a desire to withdraw from the wearisome turmoil and strife of life in England. The suspicions of the magistrates of the Plymouth Colony and of those of Massachusetts Bay were aroused concerning him, suspicions that were destined soon to be realized. In less than a year after the arrival of Winthrop and his company, letters were received which confirmed their worst fears concerning Sir Christopher. Two women, each claiming to be his wife, had been successively abandoned by him, and both had been left behind when he had sailed for the New World; and his present companion, so the magistrates were credibly informed, was a young woman of doubtful reputation named Mary Grove. It was, accordingly resolved, in February, 1631, to return Sir Christopher to England, by the ship *Lyon*, which was soon to sail.

Sir Christopher, becoming aware of the design of the magistrates, kept a careful watch, and when he saw the officers emerging from the woods and preparing to cross the river near his house, he girded on his rapier, threw

his gun over his shoulder, and hastily fled into the wilderness. After some days of wandering he was captured by a party of Indians, after a struggle, and delivered into the custody of the authorities of the Plymouth Colony. Later he was delivered over to the custody of the Bay Colony, by the hands of Captain John Underhill. This was in the early spring of 1631.

Governor Bradford's account of the coming of Sir Christopher, of the suspicions concerning him, and of his arrest and delivery into the custody of the magistrate of the Bay is quaint and interesting:

This year [1631] on Sir Christopher Gardener being, as himselfe said, descended of yt house yt the Bishop of Winchester came of (who was so great a persecutor of God's saincts in Queene Marie's days) and being a great traveler, received his first honour of Knighthood at Jerusalem, being made Knight of ye Sepulcher ther. He came into these parts under pretence of forsaking ye world and to live a private life, in a godly course, not unwilling to put him selfe upon any meane imployments and take any paines for his living; and some time offered him selfe to joyne to ye churches in sundry places. He brought over with him a servant or 2 and a comly younge woman, whom he cald his cousin, but it was suspected she (after ye Italian manner) was his concubine. Living at ye Massachusets, for some miscariages which he should have answered, he fled away from authority and gott among ye Indeans of these parts; they sent after him, but could not gett him, and promissed some reward to those yt should find him. The Indeans came to ye Govr here and tould wher he was, and asked if they might kill him; he tould them no, by no means, but if they could take him and bring him hither, they should be payd for their painse. They said he had a gune and a rapier, & he would kill them if yey went aboute it; and ye Massachusets Indeans said they might kille him. But ye Govr tould them no, they should not kill him, but watch their opportunitie & take him. And so they did, for where

they light of him by a river side, he got into a canowe to get from them & when they came nere him, whilst he presented his peece at them to keep them of, the streame carried ye canow against a rock and tumbled both him & his peece & rapier into ye water; yet he got out and having a litle dagger by his side they durst not close with him, but getting longe pols they soone beat his dagger out of his hand, so he was glad to yeeld; and they brought him to ye Govr. But his hands and armes were swolen & very sore with ye blowes that they had given him. So he used him kindly, & sent him to a lodging wher his armes were bathed and anoynted and he was quickly well againe, and blamed ye Indeans for beating him so much. They said that they did but a litle whip him with sticks. In his lodging, those yt made his bed found a litle note booke that by accident had slipt out of his pockett,or some private place, in which was a memoriall what day he was reconciled to ye pope & church of Rome, and in what universitie he took his scapula, and such and such degrees. It being brought to ye Govr, he kept it, and sent ye Govr of ye Massachusets word of his taking, who sent for him. So ye Govr sent him and these notes to ye Govr ther who took it very thankfully; but after he gott for England, he showed his malice, but God prevented him.[1]

Concerning the delivery of Sir Christopher to the authorities of the Bay Colony, Governor Winthrop thus wrote Governor Bradford, of the Plymouth Colony. It would appear from a passage in this letter that Governor Bradford had used his good offices with Governor Winthrop, to the end that the prisoner might be kindly used.[2]

JOHN WINTHROP TO WILLIAM BRADFORD

SIR:—It hath pleased God to bring Sr. Christopher Gardner safe to us, with thos that came with him. And howsoever I never intended any hard measure to him, but to respecte and use

[1]Bradford, 352.
[2]Bradford, 354.

him according to his qualitie, yet I let him know your care of him, and yt he shall speed ye better for your mediation. It was a speciall providence of God to bring these notes of his to our hands; I desire yt you will please to speak to all yt are privie to them, not to discovere them to any one, for yt may frustrate ye means of any further use to be made of them. The good Lord our God who hath always ordered things for ye good of his poore churches here, directe us in this aright and dispose it to a good issue. I am sorrie we put you to so much trouble about this gentleman, especialy at this time of great imploymente, but I know not how to avoyed it. I must again intreat you to let me know what charge & troble any of your people have been at aboute him, yt it may be recompenced. So with the true affection of a friend, desiring all happiness to your selfe & yours and to all my worthy friends with you (whom I love in ye Lord) I comende you to his grace & good providence, & rest,

Your Most assured friend,

Boston, May 5, 1631. JOHN WINTHROP.

Sir Christopher had scarcely become the prisoner of the colonists before they were furnished with undoubted evidence of his dangerous character. A packet of letters addressed to their prisoner fell into the hands of Governor Winthrop who, under the circumstances, thought it proper to examine their contents. The letters proved to have been written by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and showed that Sir Christopher was an agent in the pay of Gorges, sent out in advance of the colonists, as a spy upon their movements.

"There came a shallop from Piscataqua," records Governor Winthrop, "which brought news of a small English ship come thither with provisions and some Frenchmen to make salt. By this boat Capt. Neal, governour of Piscataqua, sent a packet of letters to the governour, directed to Sir Christopher Gardiner, which, when the governour had opened, he found it came from

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, (who claims a great part of the Bay of Mass.) In the packet was one letter to Thomas Morton, (sent prisoner before unto England upon the lord chief justice's warrant) by both which letters it appeared that he had some secret design to recover his pretended right, and that he reposed much trust in Sir Christopher Gardiner. These letters we opened because they were directed to one who was our prisoner, and declared himself an ill-willer to our government."[1]

It is certain that the establishment on the banks of the Neponset was broken up by the arrest of Sir Christopher. It was at first thought best to deport him, as already related; but the discovery of his close connection with Gorges, perhaps, served to lessen the harshness of the colonists' decision. He was treated kindly and a little after, dismissed from custody. A year later he returned to England, where his reports to Sir Ferdinando and the Council for New England were probably not such as tended favorably to impress the mind of the king.

Thomas Morton, the second of the trio who are recorded by Winthrop as enemies of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in England, is one of the most remarkable characters in all New England history. In his *New English Canaan* he calls himself "Thomas Morton, of Clifford's Inn, Gent." The record concerning him is far more voluminous than that concerning Sir Christopher Gardiner. He was a forerunner of Sir Christopher, having reached New England about the year 1625, as a member of a company headed by a certain Captain Wollaston. This company of colonists and their settlement comprised one of the abortive attempts of Gorges to colonize New England. It was a party of adventurers, like all companies sent out

[1]Winthrop, i, 68.

under the auspices of that dreamer. A settlement was made on the southerly shore of Massachusetts Bay, at a place known to the Indians as Passonagesset, and since, even to this day, known as Mount Wollaston.

Morton had visited New England two or three years before, with Weston's company and hence undoubtedly had acted somewhat in the capacity of guide to his fellow adventurers. Captain Wollaston himself did not long remain at the head of the settlement which he had founded. Possibly the climate was too severe for his liking, for he soon removed to Virginia and New England saw him no more, although it still perpetuates his name.

Wollaston, in leaving, appointed one Rasdell as his deputy, and he in turn was succeeded by one Fitcher, Rasdell following Wollaston to Virginia. Morton soon raised a rebellion, displaced Fitcher and made himself the ruler of the settlement. He named the place Mare Mount, or, as it was then called, "Merry Mount". Morton's accession to power, as the leader of the settlement, was signalized by a remarkable ceremony which has become a notable episode in New England history, and has been celebrated by America's great romancer.[1]

Morton himself has recorded his life at Merry Mount in a curious narrative, in which he deals with the Puritan settlers in a semi-humorous, but altogether bitter and sarcastic manner.[2] His own record, however, sufficiently betrays his character, for he makes no secret of the revels of himself and his friends, with the aid of "good liquor," and with the added aid of the Indian "lasses in beaver coats", who were wont to frequent the settlement and

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[1]Hawthorne's *Twice Told Tales—The Maypole of Merry Mount.*

[2]*The New English Canaan.*

join in the dances about the Maypole, and who were "welcome night and day."

It was not Morton's revelries and alleged immoralities, however, greatly as they were abhorred by his Puritan and Pilgrim neighbors, which chiefly caused his expulsion from New England. The settlement at Passonagesset was a trading post, pure and simple. There was no pretence that it had been established for any purpose other than for trading with the Indians. The Indian hunters were adepts at the capture of fur-bearing animals, and the skins of the beaver, the deer, the wolf, and the bear were readily exchanged for gaily colored cloths, beads and trinkets. But, above and beyond all things, the Indians coveted fire-arms. They saw the vast superiority of these weapons over their own bows and arrows and, while they feared them in the hands of the white man, they longed to possess such powerful weapons themselves. Morton and his comrades were quick to discover that, in exchange for a gun, they were able to procure a much larger quantity of furs, than in exchange for any other barter. As furs fetched a large price in the London market the temptation was too great to be resisted. When, therefore, it was discovered that Morton was supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition, thus placing in the hands of the savages the means by which the white settlements could be easily swept out of existence in a night, the magistrates and people were alarmed. Not only was such conduct opposed to all reason and good sense, but it had been expressly forbidden, in a royal proclamation issued in November, 1622.[1]

"Now to maintaine this riotous prodigallitie, and profuse excess," says Bradford, "Morton, thinking him selfe lawless, and

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[1]Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i, 151.

hearing what gaine ye French & fisher-men made by trading of peeces, powder and shotte to ye Indeans, he, as ye head of this consortship, begane ye practise of ye same in these parts; and first he taught them how to use them, to charge and discharg, and what proportion of powder to give ye peece, according to ye sise or bignes of ye same; and what shotte to use for foule, and what for deare. And having thus instructed them, he imployed some of them to hunte and fowle for him, so as they became farr more active in that imploymente than any of ye English, by reason of ther swiftnes of foote, & nimblenes of body, being also quick sighted and by continuall exercise well knowing ye hants of all sorts of game. So as when they saw ye execution that a peece would doe, and ye benefite that might come by ye same, they became madd, at it were, after them, and would not stick to give any prise they could attaine too for them; accounting their bowes & arrowes but bables in comparison of them.

"And here I may take occasion," continues Bradford, "to bewaile ye mischefe that this wicked man began in these parts, and which since base covetousnes prevailing in men that should know better, has now at length gott ye upper hand, and made this thing comone, notwithstanding any laws to ye contrary; so as ye Indeans are full of peeces all over, both fouling peeces, muskets, pistols, &c. They have also their moulds to make shotte, of all sorts, as muskett bulletts, pistoll bulletts, swane & gose shote, & of smaler sorts; yea, some have seen them have their scruplats to make scrupins them selves, when they wante them, with sundry other implements, wherwith they are ordinarily better fited & furnished then ye English them selves. Yea, it is well knowne that they will have powder & shot, when the English want it, nor cannot gett it; and yt in a time of warr or danger, as experience hath manifested that when lead hath been scarce, and men for their owne defence would gladly have given a groat a li., which is dear enoughe yet hath it bene bought up & sent to other places, and sould to shuch as trade it with ye Indeans, at 12 pence ye li.; and it is like they give 3 or 4s. ye pound, for they will have it

at any rate. And these things have been done in ye same times, when some of their neighbours & friends are daily killed by ye Indeans, or are in deanger therof, and live but at ye Indeans mercie."[1]

Before the close of the year 1627 the Plymouth settlers were alarmed to discover that, so far as could be ascertained, nearly one hundred Indians had been provided with the white man's weapons. Early in 1628 the men of Plymouth took serious council with their brethren of Salem concerning the matter and, as a result, it was determined to place Morton under arrest. Accordingly, Captain Myles Standish, with a party of armed men repaired to Wessagusset, where Morton was visiting, and arrested him. He escaped from his captors during the night, but was again apprehended, the next day, at his house at Merry Mount. He was taken to Plymouth, where a council was called to determine what should be his fate. Standish favored the infliction of the death penalty, but the decision of the council was adverse to proceeding to this extremity. It was at length determined to send him back to England. Inasmuch as no ship was to sail for several months, and it was not deemed expedient to keep him in the "bilboes" during the intervening time, he was taken to the Isles of Shoals, there to remain until June of the same year. In that month he was put on board ship in charge of John Oldham and sent to England. With him were sent letters addressed to the Council for New England, and to Gorges, giving official notification, not only of Morton's alleged immoral life, but of his violation of the proclamation of King James and his disregard of the common safety, in selling fire-arms to the Indians.

It is not difficult to understand why Gorges, with his

[1] Bradford, p. 286 *et seq.*

feeling of disappointment at the failure of his plans, and his animosity towards those who seemed about to succeed where he had failed, was disposed to do nothing in the way of punishment of a disturber of the new colony. It seems very certain that Morton was not severely dealt with, and it is not impossible that he was urged, or at least permitted to return. At all events, late in the year 1629, less than two years after his deportation, he made his appearance at Plymouth. Strangely enough, he returned in company with Isaac Allerton, a member of the Plymouth Colony, who had been sent as an agent of the colony to England, for the purpose of obtaining, if possible, a royal charter, similar to that which had been granted to the Bay Colony. It was not long before Morton was domiciled anew in his old quarters at Mount Wollaston, where a few of his former comrades still remained.

During Morton's absence in England, Endecott and his company had arrived in New England and had joined themselves to the little settlement at Naumkeag, afterwards called Salem. Endecott was early apprised of the existence of the settlement at Mount Wollaston—which was clearly within the limits of his patent,— of the scandalous life of the people there and of the arrest and deportation of Morton. When, therefore, Morton reappeared in the New England settlements, and showed an open defiance of the authority of the magistrates, and of the laws and orders adopted for the good of all, the impulsive Endecott determined that he would not brook his insolence. A party was despatched across the bay to arrest him; but Morton, perhaps seeing from his elevated situation, the company approaching, fled to the forest and evaded his pursuers, who were obliged to return to Salem without their hoped for prisoner.

Sickness and famine which soon beset the Salem colo-

nists prevented further movement in the matter for a time. A few months later, in June, 1630, Winthrop and his party, bringing succor to the Salem people, arrived in the *Arbella*. The section of Endecott's company which had been sent through the woods on foot to make a settlement at Mishawum (Charlestown) was in as great straits as were their brethren at Salem. When the distress of both settlements had been relieved, a meeting of the magistrates was called, at which the case of Morton was considered.

CHAPTER V

This was the first meeting of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay of which any record exists. In all probability it was actually the first meeting held. It was convened at Charlestown on the twenty-third day of August, 1630. At this meeting, according to the record, "it was ordered that Morton of Mount Woolison [Wollaston] should presently be sent for by pcesse. [process]"[1]

The only account of the hearing in this case is that recorded by Morton himself in his *New English Canaan*. The colonial authorities, both official recorder and historian are silent. The record of the next meeting of the Court of Assistants, however, gives us the result of the trial. The meeting was held on the seventh day of September, 1630, and it is interesting to record, in passing, that it was at this meeting that it was ordered "that Trimountaine shall be called Boston." Beyond a doubt Morton appeared before the tribunal of magistrates, where his misdeeds were fully spread before him and the sentence of the court pronounced upon him. It would appear from the record that more stress was placed upon Morton's alleged ill-treatment of the Indians and upon his theft of a canoe from them, than upon the heinous offence for which he had, two or three years before, been banished by the Plymouth magistracy. It is probable that, after Morton's return, he refrained from the offence of selling fire-arms to the Indians, but made himself obnoxious to them by an overbearing and insolent spirit.

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[1]Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, i, 74.

His companions at Mount Wollaston were not of the purest reputation and it seemed probable that the settlement would grow more and more undesirable as a neighbor. The attitude of the Bay Colony was, from the beginning, one of kindness and conciliation towards the Indians, as was the part of wisdom. At the very outset, therefore, the determination was made that unkindness to these simple, barbarous people must have no countenance from the authorities. The sentence pronounced upon Morton displays the vigor of their determination. Thus the record reads:

> It is ordered by this present court that Thomas Morton, of Mount Wolliston shall presently be sett into the bilbowes & after sent prisoner into England by the shipp called the Gifte, nowe returneing thither; that all his goods shal be seazed upon to defray the charge of his transportation, payment of his debts and to give satisfaccon to the Indians for a cannoe hee unjustly tooke away from them; & that his house, after the goods are taken out, shal be burnt downe to the ground in the sight of the Indians, for their satisfaccon, for many wrongs hee hath done them from tyme to tyme.[1]

It is quite probable that the reputation which Morton is said to have borne in England may have had quite as much to do with his second transportation, arrest and deportation as any actual offence committed here. Rumors, rather indefinite, it is true, had come of misdemeanors committed in England, a suspicion of murder even being entertained against him. Indeed it would appear that Lord Chief Justice Hyde had requested that he be sent back that he might be dealt with for his misdemeanors. And yet it does not appear that he was severely dealt with on reaching England. He was confined in

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[1]Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, i, 75; Winthrop, i, 34, 35

jail for a brief period, but he was soon free again, at the instance, no doubt, of Gorges, who had use for him.

There is no doubt that the sentence of Morton, rigorous as it was, was carried out in all its terms. Thus one more enemy of the infant colony, himself upon terms of intimacy with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was added to the party in England, eager to witness the failure of the attempt at colonization in New England.

The third member of the trio of enemies of the colony at court was Philip Ratcliffe. The record concerning this man and the exact nature of his offence, is even more meagre than is that concerning Sir Christopher Gardiner. He is said to have been a servant of Governor Matthew Cradock, but it seems probable that his position was rather that of an agent, or business representative of the nominal governor of the colony, who himself remained to guard the interests of the company at home. Ratcliffe was evidently a resident of Salem and it was there that his offence whatever it actually may have been, was committed. The records of the colony are silent in the matter, save that they record the verdict of the court, under date of June 14, 1631, in these words:--

1631, June 14—It is ordered that Philip Ratcliffe shalbe whipped, haue his ears cutt of, fyned 40£ & banished out of ye lymitts of this jurisdiccon, for vttering mallitious & scandulous speeches against the goumt. & the church of Salem &c., as appeareth by a pticulr thereof, pued vpon oath.[1]

Winthrop's record does not greatly vary:

1631, June 14—At this court one Philip Ratcliffe, a servant of Mr. Cradock, being convict, *ore tenus*, of most foul, scandalous invectives against our churches and government was cen-

[1]Massachusetts Colonial Records, i, 88.

sured to be whipped, lose his ears and be banished the plantation, which was presently executed.[1]

Thomas Morton, in his *New English Canaan*, devotes a chapter to the Ratcliffe episode, alluding to him under the name of Mr. Innocence Fairecloath and describing him as sent over into New Canaan by Mr. Mathias Charterparty, (by which latter name he designates Mr. Cradock) "to raise a very good marchantable comodity for his benefit." Morton represents that certain of the colonists

"practised to get into his [Ratcliffe's] debte, which hee, not mistrusting suffered and gave credit for such commodity as hee had sold at a price. When the day of payment came, insteede of moneyes, hee, being at that time sick and weake and stood in neede of the Beaver hee had contracted for, hee had an epistle full of zealous exhortations to provide for the soule. Persisting in his demand he," so says Morton, "was proceeded against upon charge of blasphemy against the church of Salem." His sentence, Morton records as far more severe than appears in the records of the Great and General Court of the Colony. This he declares, was "to have his tongue bored through, his nose slit, his face branded, his ears cut, his body to be whipd in severall plantations of their jurisdiction and a fine of forty pounds imposed, with perpetual banishment."

"This cruel sentence," continues Morton, "was stoped in part by Sir Christopher Gardiner (then present at the execution) by expostulating with Master Temperwell (Winthrop) who was content (with that whipping and cutting of part of his ears) to send Innocence going, with the loss of all his goods, to pay the fine imposed and perpetuall banishment out of their lands of New Canaan, *in terrorem populi*."[2]

The object of Morton in writing and publishing his *New English Canaan* was, obviously, not so much to describe

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[1]Winthrop, i, 67.

[2]Morton's *New English Canaan.*

the new land across the sea, and to record facts in the history of the young colonists there, as to vindicate himself in English eyes and to punish enemies in the colonies. In other words he desired to "get even," with those who had tried and banished him. So virulent is he in his charges against the colonists that none of them can safely be accepted as facts of history. It may be fairly presumed, however, that a violent dispute was precipitated between Ratcliffe and some of the people of Salem, over some matters of business. Upon which side the right rested does not appear, nor does it especially concern us. Ratcliffe evidently became greatly incensed and broke out into the most terrible invective and blasphemies against the people, the churches and the magistrates. That he, in his rage, passed beyond the bounds of reason in his "mallitious and scandulous speeches" there can be no doubt. The sentence of Ratcliffe, as entered in the records of the colony was sufficiently cruel, without the added enormities ascribed to the magistracy by Morton. That worthy would have us understand that, through the intercession of Sir Christopher Gardiner, the more hideous details of the sentence, as noted by him were remitted. It is probably the truth that, whether by the request of Gardiner or not, the sentence of banishment was remitted for a time, by Winthrop. That the governor did show this clemency to the culprit is certain, since one of the charges brought against Winthrop by Dudley, in 1632, was that he had remitted the sentences of banishment pronounced against Ratcliffe and one Grey.

It was in the summer of 1632 that Ratcliffe, the third of the trio of the colony's disturbers, was sent back to England. It was in December of that year that the first formal and concerted attack was made upon the charter granted by King Charles I. The original petition, "com-

posed of many sheets of paper", has not been found among the British archives, and is probably not in existence; but that it was a vigorous onslaught upon the charter cannot be doubted. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Mason appeared in criticism of the methods employed by the company in procuring the charter. Gardiner, Morton, and Ratcliffe detailed their personal grievances, the latter showing his cropped ears in proof of his charges. All united in bringing against the colonists charges of sedition and intended rebellion against both Church and State. The charges were serious and had they not been promptly met they might have proved fatal to the life of the struggling colony. That they were promptly met has already been shown in the record made by Winthrop. That the attempt failed is certain. In May, 1633, Governor Winthrop wrote the letter to Governor Bradford, already quoted, in which he exultantly informed his brother magistrate of the failure of the machinations of the enemies of the colony.

In the succeeding May, a vessel being about to sail from Boston, on her return voyage to England, laden with a cargo of fish, Governor Winthrop embraced the opportunity of still further assuring the king and council of the loyalty of the colony. He sent by the hand of Captain Graves, master of the ship, the formal answer of the governor and assistants, to the charges filed by Sir Christopher Gardiner, and with it sent also a certificate, signed by "the old planters"—doubtless Blackstone, Jeffries, Maverick and Thompson—"concerning the carriage of affairs, etc." This certificate was, no doubt, in the nature of an attestation to the truth of the statements contained in the reply of the governor and assistants.[1]

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[1]Winthrop, i, 106.

But, in the interest of historical accuracy and probability, it must be remembered that there was another, and perhaps stronger, impelling motive which influenced Charles in his decision in favor of the colonists. The spirit of colonization was abroad in the world. Early in the sixteenth century the French were making settlements in Canada, and, in 1608, Quebec was founded. Spain in Cuba, in Central America, in Mexico, was converting the natives to Christianity with the edge of the sword; and, in 1565, had laid the coquina walls of St. Augustine. Even earlier than this, Coronado had penetrated far into the interior, marching northward from Mexico, in search of the seven cities of Cibola, and had founded the city of Santa Fé.

It was not long after the discovery by Columbus of new land at the westward, that a papal bull was issued granting exclusive control in these lands to Spain and Portugal; and Spanish exploration and attempts at settlement were begun at a very early day. Technically this bull was not regarded as operative in England. From the time of Edward I the policy had been established in English law, that it was not competent for the Bishop of Rome to interfere with the authority of the Crown. No earthly power could stand between God and the Crown. By the statute of *præmunire*, in the reign of Richard II, it was declared that "the Crown of England hath been at all times so free that it hath no earthly sovereign, but is immediately subject to God, and to none other, in all things touching the regality of the said Crown." It was therefore regarded in England that property in new lands, discovered by English navigators, was vested in the Crown, a papal bull to the contrary notwithstanding. The doctrine of the right to occupy new lands is set forth by Bracton, chief justiciary in the reign of Henry III, in his work on the

laws of England, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*: *Si autem insula in mari nata sit* (*quod raro accidit*), *occupantus fit*. Although this doctrine, in its terms, applies to islands *in mari natæ*, by volcanic force, or other operations of nature, it was held to apply with equal force to islands newly discovered. The exclusive right of Spain and Portugal to the lands of the New World was not, therefore, recognized theoretically in England, by virtue of the declaration of the Holy See. But, although this doctrine and policy was well established in English jurisprudence, it is equally true that English custom in that age respected the rights of exploration of other, and especially of stronger nations. When therefore Cabot set sail, in 1497, from Bristol, he was commissioned by Henry VII "to sail to the East, West, or North, with five ships carrying the English flag, to seek and discover all the islands, countries, regions, or provinces of pagans, in whatever part of the world." It is noticeable that, in this commission, a southerly course was excluded, from which it may be inferred that it was not desired to come in conflict with any of the rights acquired by the nations of the Iberian peninsula. Although an important English authority[1] would have us understand that this careful respect for the rights of Spain and Portugal had its source in an English sense of moral responsibility, it is well not to forget that, in the fifteenth century, the nation of England was a weakling in comparison with Spain. The disregard which England, in modern times, has shown for the rights of other nations, as gained in the exploration of new lands, will, perhaps, justify us in making a comparison between the navies of Henry VII and of Ferdinand.

Notwithstanding the English doctrine which, in theory,

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[1]Edward John Payne, *History of the New World called America*, i, 244.

repudiated the papal bull, as valid against English right of exploration and settlement in the New World, it is certain that no effort was made to follow up the discoveries of John Cabot. It was not until after the actual repudiation, by Henry VIII, of all control by the papal power, and the divorce of that monarch from his Spanish wife, that any serious movement at discoveries in the New World was made by England; and it was not until after the death of catholic Mary, and the accession of protestant Elizabeth that the first attempts at colonization were made.

Although the passion of adventure had seized the English mind, and numerous voyages were made, in the hope of discovering new routes to the Indies, the reign of Henry, of Mary, of Elizabeth and of James had passed, without the establishment of any successful English colonies on the American coast. The three ventures of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1578, 1579,and 1583; that of Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, and of Sir Richard Grenville at Roanoke, in 1585 were all wretched failures; and the mystery of Croatan is yet unsolved. Gosnold's feeble attempt at settlement on the little group of islands at the mouth of Buzzard's Bay, which still bear his name, in their township title, came to an end almost before it had a beginning. The ruins at Jamestown are a pathetic reminder of that feeble colony which promised so much, but which yielded so little fruit. The persistent attempts of Gorges and Mason and Popham, on the New England coast had been utterly futile. When, therefore, Charles I saw with pleasure that two flourishing English colonies had been planted in New England, and bade fair to take a firm root and grow luxuriantly, he had probably but little sympathy with those who, through jealousy, and for the sake of accomplishing a personal revenge, would cause them also to fail.

More than this, Charles no doubt remembered that by

the charter which he had granted to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a few years before, he had expressly provided that it should

> be lawful to and for the chief commanders, governors and officers of said company for the time being, who shall be resident in the said part of New England in America, . . . from time to time and at all times hereafter, for their special defence and safety, to encounter, expulse, repel, and resist by force of arms, as well by sea as by land and by all fitting ways and means whatever, all such person and persons as shall at any time hereafter, attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance to the said plantation or inhabitants.

It was by the authority thus given that the colonists purged themselves, whenever it was considered necessary, of all obnoxious persons, whose presence among them was regarded as harmful to the body politic.

It is useful, before leaving this portion of our subject, to record the final result of this assault upon the charter, so far as concerns the fortunes of Thomas Morton. It is certain that he returned to Massachusetts for the second time, some years after the failure of the machinations of Gorges and Mason, in which he played such an active part. Under date of March 9, 1644, Governor Winthrop makes this record:

> 1644, March 9—At the Court of Assistants Thomas Morton was called forth presently after the lecture that the country might be satisfied of the justice of our proceeding against him. There was laid to his charge his complaint against us at the council board, which he denied. Then we produced the copy of the bill exhibited by Sir Christopher Gardiner, etc., wherein he was named as a party or witness. He denied that he had any hand in the information, only was called as a witness. To convince him to be the principal party it was showed:
>
> 1: That Gardiner had no occasion to complain against us for

he was kindly used and dismissed in peace, professing much engagement for the great courtesy he found here.

2: Morton had set forth a book against us and had threatened us and had prosecuted a *quo warranto* against us, which he did not deny.

3: His letter was produced, written soon after to Mr. Jeffrey [one of the old planters] his old acquaintance and intimate friend, in these words:

The full text of the letter is recorded by the governor, in which, in a style satirical and somewhat following that of the *New English Canaan*, Morton related the story of his attack on the colony before the council. In allusion to the Ratcliffe affair Morton says:—

And as for Ratcliffe he was comforted by their lordships with the cropping of Mr. Winthrop's ears, which shows what opinion is held amongst them of King Winthrop, with all his inventions and his Amsterdam fantastical ordinances, his preachings, marriages, and other abusive ceremonies, which do exemplify his detestation to the Church of England, and the contempt of his Majesty's authority and wholesome laws which are and will be established in those parts.

May 10, 1634.

Winthrop adds to his record:

Having been kept in prison about a year in expectation of further evidence out of England, he was again called before the court and after some debate what to do with him, he was fined 100 pounds and set at liberty. He was a charge to the country for he had nothing, and we thought not fit to inflict corporal punishment upon him, being old and crazy, but thought better to fine him and give him his liberty, as if it had been to procure his fine, but indeed to leave him opportunity to go out of the jurisdiction, as he did soon after and went to Acomenticus and living there poor and despised, he died within two years after.[1]

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[1]Winthrop, ii, 232.

CHAPTER VI

The assumption by Hawthorne that the occasion of the mutilation of the colors at Salem by Mr. Endecott was the reception of the news that a governor-general was to be appointed, who should establish the rule of the Church of England in the colony was, perhaps, after all not wholly fanciful. It is undeniable that, at this time, a demand was made upon the colony for the surrender of the charter. At whose instigation this demand was made is not decisively known; but one may readily believe that our old acquaintances Gorges, Gardiner, Morton and Ratcliffe, although they had signally failed in their endeavor two years before, would not easily be persuaded to abandon their purpose of breaking up the colony. This second attempt was very nearly successful, and was thwarted only through the good judgment and shrewd management of the governor and his council of advisors, as appears by a record made by Governor Winthrop, in June, 1634, only a month later than the date of Morton's letter just quoted. The governor wrote:

> Mr. Cradock wrote to the governor and assistants and sent a copy of the council's order whereby we were required to send over our patent. Upon long consultation whether we should return answer or not, we agreed and returned answer to Mr. Cradock, excusing that it could not be done but by a general court, which was to be holden in September next.[1]

By means of this shrewd management the colonists succeeded in gaining several months of time. When the

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[1]Winthrop, i, 163.

General Court convened in the following September, however, they discovered that their enemies at court had no idea of abandoning their plans. The movement in England for the overthrow of the political and religious liberty of the colonists is best told in the words of the governor:

1634, Sept. 18.—The *Griffin* and another ship now arriving with about two hundred passengers and one hundred cattle. . . there came over a copy of the commission granted to the two archbishops[1] and ten others of the council, to regulate all plantations, and power given them to call in all patents, to make laws, to raise tythes and portions for ministers, to remove and punish governors, and to hear and determine all causes and inflict all punishments, even death itself. This being advised by ourselves to be especially intended for us, and that there were ships and soldiers provided, given out as for the carrying of the new governors and the discipline of the Church of England and the law of the commissioners—occasioned the magistrates and deputies to hasten our fortifications and to discover our minds to each other.[2]

It was plain to the minds of the colonists now, that King Charles had yielded to the importunities of the enemies of the colony and that he was far less friendly towards it than formerly. The young colony had passed beyond the stage of a mere experiment. It now numbered fully four thousand souls and no fewer than twenty villages had sprung up upon the shores, and in the immediate vicinity, of the Bay. The farms were beginning to become productive and large herds of cattle were grazing in the fields and meadows. The commerce of the colony, in fish, lumber and furs was beginning to be considerable. In addition to this numerical and financial strength, which no doubt excited and increased the jealousy of Gorges

[1]Canterbury and York.

[2]Winthrop, i, 171.

and his followers and adherents, the attitude of the colony in matters ecclesiastical had begun to attract the attention of Charles and of Archbishop Laud. There was a reign of terror in England for all dissenters, and many were paying the penalty of non-conformity with their lives. The Puritan settlers of Massachusetts Bay had little sympathy with the doctrines of the Separatists, and this was well understood, at the outset, by Charles; and yet they, by the very act of withdrawing from England, settling in a new country, and adopting the congregational mode in ordination and church government, had actually become Separatists. The king and his henchman, Laud, therefore, beheld the spectacle of an English colony planted in New England, full of vigor and life, and imbued with ideas and doctrines which were, in effect, a denial of the claims and demands of the king and of the archbishop. The growing strength of the Puritan element in England, however, and the attention which it demanded at home, no doubt served to distract the attention of the king and his counsellors, in some degree, from the non-conformist colony across the sea. The appointment of a governor-general was not made when it was at first threatened, but was delayed until two years later. The colonists were therefore spared, at this time, a resort to open rebellion by force of arms. They did not, however, relax their vigilance, for they evidently felt that at any time the blow might fall. In the records of the colony ample proof exists that the colonists not only continued their preparations for defence against a possible attack by a military force, but also that they pushed these preparations with all haste. At the meeting of the General Court, on the fourth day of March, 1634, it was ordered

"that the ffort att Castle Iland, nowe begun, shalbe fully pfected, the ordinances mounted & eny other thing aboute it

ffinished, before any other fortificacion be further proceeded in,"[1]

At the same session it was further ordered

that there shalbe forthwith a beacon sett on the sentry hill att Boston, to giue notice to the country of any danger & that there shalbe a ward of one pson kept there from the first of Aprill to the last of Septr & that upon the discoury of any danger the beacon shalbe fired, an allarum given, as also messengers presently sent by that towne where the danger is discoued to all other townes within this jurisdiciòn.[2]

The antiquarian finds pleasure in tracing to this act of the General Court, and to the erection of the beacon which promptly followed, the name which still attaches to Boston's capitoline hill.

Not only were these fortifications commanding the harbor hurried to completion, but companies of militia were formed and forced to drill with regularity and frequency. Absentees from drill were forced to pay a fine, and the moneys thus received were employed in the purchase of arms and equipments. In addition to these precautions, the governor and a committee of magistrates and others were appointed by the General Court, to constitute a board of military affairs. This board was authorized to appoint and remove military officers; to "dispose of all companyes;" to maintain discipline; to see that trainings were observed; and to order out troops whenever occasion demanded.

Later in the same session of the General Court, as if fearful that all possible had not been done for the public defence it was "Ordered; that the deputy gounr, overseer of the ffortification att Castle Ileland, shall haue power to presse men for that worke, for soe long a tyme as in

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[1]Records i, 136.

[2]Records i, 137.

his discrecon, hee shall thinke meete, notwithstanding the former order in Septr to the contrary."[1]

It was at this same session of the court that the act of Endecott, in defacing the colors at Salem, was first reported to the magistrates and deputies. Doubtless, in the commission of this act by an influential magistrate of the colony, and the apprehension lest information concerning it should reach England, the colonists saw added cause for fear that this second attack upon the charter might prove successful. Hence, resolved to resist to the uttermost any attempt which the mother country might make to dispossess them by force, they were making all speed to complete the projected harbor defences, and otherwise prepare themselves for the crisis which seemed imminent.

Such was the critical condition of the political affairs of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, at the period which we are considering. Who was the "indiscrete person," who had written letters against the church government in England, and despatched them by the hand of Captain Leavitt, is unknown. There is no actual proof that it was Roger Williams; although we know that he had written a treatise upon this subject, which was made the topic of some discussion, and which he afterwards retracted and offered to be burnt. He was at Plymouth when these letters went astray, through the death of the captain at sea, and by this mischance fell into the hands of the enemies of the colony in England. It cannot be doubted that the author of these letters was some person of distinctly Separatist tendencies; but such persons were by no means rare among the colonists, especially at Salem. It was almost immediately after the first assault upon the

[1]Records, i, 139.

charter that Williams removed from Plymouth to Salem. As has been seen, his attack upon the right of the king to grant a patent, was first made in the winter of 1633, or but a few months after the reception of the first news from England, concerning the assault of Gorges and his friends upon the charter. Indeed, the attack of Roger Williams upon the integrity of the patent was almost simultaneous with the arrival of the *William and Jane*, and the *Mary and Jane*, which brought more minute details concerning the movements of Gorges, and their results, than had been brought by the ship *William*, which had arrived in the previous February. In short, the validity of the charter was attacked at once from without and from within. The colony's enemies in England were seeking its revocation, upon the ground that the colonists were intending rebellion and were seeking to cast off their allegiance and be wholly separate from Church and State. The colony's enemy at home—for so the magistrates could not fail to regard him—was not only teaching separation, which was then, by tradition from the days of Elizabeth, regarded as virtually an attack upon the throne itself, but he was, in his attack upon the patent, as before suggested, attacking at the same time the royal prerogative. Indeed Williams had openly declared the king to have told "a solemn public lie, because, in his patent, he blessed God that he was the first christian prince that had discovered the land."[1]

When, therefore, the charge was made before the king and council that the "ministers and people did continually rail against the State, church and bishops," the charge, so far, indeed, as it applied to the teacher at Salem, could

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[1]Winthrop, i, 145.[1]

not truthfully be denied. But that this was not correct regarding the ministers and people generally, the records afford ample proof; and one may not improperly conclude that this is the correct interpretation of Winthrop's parenthetical record, that the charges of Mason and Gorges included "some truths misrepeated."

The assault of Williams upon the royal prerogative was, perhaps, the most serious of the offences against the crown, included in his attack upon the patent. In time of Charles I and, indeed, until the abrogation of the right, in the reign of Queen Anne, the royal prerogative included the right to alienate crown lands at pleasure. On account of the improvident alienations of land by William III, the crown was deprived of this right by statute, early in the reign of Anne. But when Roger Williams was fulminating in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, against the right of King Charles to grant a patent to lands in New England, the royal prerogative, in this respect, was in full force and was absolute. As a matter of course, the contentions of Williams were upon moral and ethical, rather than upon legal, grounds; and, yet, so were, in all respects, the contentions of the Separatists. This distinction, however, did not serve to deliver some of the sect in England from the fires, nor did it deliver others from distressing imprisonment. It would not have sufficed to have delivered Roger Williams, had he been within the reach of Archbishop Laud; it did not suffice to render the colonists free from opposition, distress and apprehension.

CHAPTER VII

It was less than a year after Mr. Williams had taken up his life in Salem that Mr. Skelton, the pastor of the Salem church, died, and the church was thus left without a head. This event occurred in August, 1634. Despite the remonstrance which the governor and other magistrates had registered against similar action in 1631, and despite the turmoil which had been created by Mr. Williams' assault upon the patent, and still more recently by his attack upon the freeman's oath, the Salem church again called him to the office of teacher. As we have already seen, in November, 1634, had been held that hastily called special meeting of the governor and assistants, at which the matter of the mutilation of the colors had been considered, and also the report had been made that Williams had broken his promise to the magistrates, and had resumed his attack upon the king's patent.

At a meeting of the governor and assistants, held on the second day of April, 1635, Mr. Williams was requested to present himself. The ministers of the colony were also present, doubtless by invitation. At this meeting Mr. Williams was called upon to justify recent teachings as touching the right of the magistrates, from a theological point of view, to tender an oath to an unregenerate man. The governor thus records the occurrence:—

1635, Mo. 2, 30.—The governour and assistants sent for Mr. Williams. The occasion was for that he had taught publickly that a magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man, for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God and cause him to take the name of God

in vain. He was heard before all the ministers and very clearly confuted. Mr. Endecott was at first of the same opinion, but he gave place to the truth.[1]

The next meeting of the General Court, at which meeting Williams had been summoned to appear and answer to the charge made against him, was held on the eighth day of July, 1635. Governor Winthrop's record of this meeting is full and interesting:—

1635, Mo. 5, 8:[July 8]—At the general court Mr. Williams of Salem was summoned and did appear. It was laid to his charge that being under question before the magistracy and churches for divers dangerous opinions, viz:

1. That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace;

2. That he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man;

3. That a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, child, etc.;

4. That a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament, nor after meat, etc., and that the other churches were about to write to the church of Salem, to admonish him of these errors; notwithstanding the church had since called him to the office of teacher.

Much debate was about these things. The said opinions were adjudged by all, magistrates and ministers (who were desired to be present) to be erroneous and very dangerous, and the calling of him to office, at that time, was judged a great contempt of authority. So, in fine, time was given to him and the church of Salem to consider of these things till the next General Court, and then either to give satisfaction to the court, or else to expect the sentence; it being professedly declared by the ministers, (at the request of the court to give their advice) that he should obstinately maintain such opinions, (whereby a church might

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[1]Winthrop, i, 157.

run into heresy, apostasy, or tyranny and yet the civil magistrate could not intermedle,) were to be removed, and that the other churches ought to request the magistrates so to do.[1]

This action of the General Court does not appear to have disturbed him against whom it was directed, for, under date of August 16, 1635, Governor Winthrop records:—

1635, Aug. 16—Mr. Williams, pastor of the church at Salem, being sick and not able to speak, wrote to his church a protestation that he could not communicate with the churches in the Bay; neither would he communicate with them except they would refuse to communicate with the rest; but the whole church was grieved therewith.[2]

Mr. Williams now determined upon an heroic measure. The magistrates, with a view, no doubt, of administering some sharp discipline to the Salem church, for insisting upon retaining the services of a minister who was regarded as a marplot, refused to set off to that church "a parcel of land which lay commodious for their affairs," a grant of which the church had prayed for.[3]

Mr. Williams, vexed at this, and willing also to set the magistrates at defiance, prevailed upon the Salem church to address letters to such of the other churches of the colony as included members of the magistracy in their membership. These letters set forth the claim that these magistrate members had committed "scandalous injustice" and deserved to be disciplined therefor.

The flint was now striking against the steel, and the sparks filled the air. The General Court resented this

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[1]Winthrop, i, 193.

[2]Winthrop, i, 198.

[3]*Magnalia Christi Americana*, i, 497.

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combined act of Williams and the Salem church. By vote of the Court the Salem deputies were temporarily deprived of their seats in that body, and were "sent back to the ffreemen of their towne that sent them, to fetch satisfaccon for their lres, sent to the seurall churches, wherein they have exceedingly repched & vilifyed the magistrates & deputys of the General Court, or els the arguments of those that will defend the same with the subscripcon of their names."[1]

Governor Winthrop makes this record of this occurrence:—

1635, Mo. 5, 12.—Salem now had preferred a petition, at the last General Court, for some land in Marblehead Neck, which they did challenge as belonging to their town; but because they had chosen Mr. Williams their teacher, while he stood under question of authority and so offered contempt to the magistrates, &c., their petition was refused till, &c. Upon this the church of Salem write to other churches to admonish the magistrates of this as a heinous sin, and likewise the deputies; for which, at the next General Court, their deputies were not received until they should give satisfaction about the letter.[2]

Mr. Endecott, who evidently acted as spokesman of the Salem delegation, defended the action of the Salem church, and protested against this action. The General Court, now thoroughly aroused, promptly declared Mr. Endecott to be in contempt and ordered his commitment until he should purge himself. He, however, with equal promptness, made his submission, acknowledging his offence and apologizing therefor, and was released.[3]

This exciting incident being over, the General Court returned to the matter under consideration, and resolved

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[1]Records, i, 156.
[2]Winthrop, i, 164.
[3]Records, i, 156.

that if the majority of the freemen of Salem should "disclaime the lres sent lately from the church of Salem to seuall churches," the ban should be removed and the deputies should be allowed to resume their seats in the General Court.

Having thus settled matters with the church and people of Salem, the General Court turned its attention to Mr. Williams and proceeded to deal with him. The formal sentence of the court, as entered in the official records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, reads thus:

Sept. 3, 1635.—Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church at Salem, hath broached & dyvulged dyvers newe and dangerous opinions, against the aucthority of magistrates, as also writ lres of defamacon, both of the magistrates & churches here, & that before any conviccon & yet mainetaineth the same without retraccon, it is therefore ordered that the same Mr. Williams shall dpte out of this jurisdiccon within six weeks nexte ensueing, wch if hee neglect to pforme, it shalbe lawfull for the gounr & two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiccon, not to returne any more without licence from the court.[1]

Immediately following this record is inserted this summons, addressed to one of the ruling elders of the Salem church:—

Mr. Samuel Sharpe [who had joined with Williams in signing the letters] is enioyned to appeare att the nexte pticular court to answere for the lre that came from the church at Salem, as also to bring the names of those that will iustifie the same, or els to acknowledge his offence vnder his owne hand for his owne pticular.[2]

The record made by Governor Winthrop will best serve to tell his story of this exciting and important episode:—

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[1]Records, i, 160.

[2]*Ibid*, i, 161.

1635, October.—At this General Court Mr. Williams, the teacher at Salem, was again convented and all the ministers in the Bay being desired to be present, he was charged with the said two letters,—that to the churches, complaining of the magistrates of injustice, extreme oppression, etc., and the other to his own church, to persuade them to renounce communion with all the churches in the Bay, as full of anti-christian pollution, etc. He justified both these letters and maintained all his opinions; and being offered further conference or disputation and a month's respite he chose to dispute presently. So Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him, but could not reduce him from any of his errors. So, the next morning the court sentenced him to depart out of our jurisdiction within six weeks, all the ministers, save one, approving the sentence; and his own church had him under question also for the same cause; and he, at his return home, refused communion with his own church, who openly disclaimed his errors, and wrote a humble submission to the magistrates, acknowledging their fault in joining with Mr. Williams in that letter to the churches against them.[1]

One passage at arms between Williams and Hooker, is worthy of record, as showing the method of argument in vogue at that day. During the trial of Williams, he complained in open court, that he was wronged by a slanderous report, that he held it unlawful for a father to call upon his child to eat his meat. Mr. Hooker, then present, replied, "Why! you will say as much again if you stand to your own principles, or be driven to say nothing at all." Mr. Williams expressing his confidence that he should never say it, Mr. Hooker proceeded:

"If it be unlawful to call an unregenerate person to pray, since it is an action of God's worship, then it is unlawful for your unregenerate child to pray for a blessing upon his own meat. If it be unlawful for him to pray for a blessing upon his

[1]Winthrop, i, 204.

meat, it is unlawful for him to eat it; for it is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer unsanctified: (I Tim: iv, 4, 5.) If it be unlawful for him to eat it, it is unlawful for you to call upon him to eat it, for it is unlawful for you to call upon him to sin." Hereupon M. Williams chose to hold his peace, rather than to make any answer.[1]

It is a matter of no importance to the narrative, but yet one of some human interest, to recall the fact that, in the matter of controversy, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Williams were old antagonists; for does not the reader remember the historic ride of Williams, in company with John Cotton and Thomas Hooker, to and from Sempringham, the three discoursing and arguing by the way concerning the Book of Common Prayer?

The summary proceedings of the General Court appear to have had their effect upon the Salem church, so that it awoke to realize that much of the teaching to which they had listened and had subscribed was tending to bring the colony into serious conflict with the king and his privy council. The church, therefore, receded from the position which it had assumed, of antagonism towards the magistrates. This retraction on the part of the church was not met with equanimity by Mr. Williams, and he sharply demanded that his church should withdraw from all communion with the churches of the Bay. But his influence, potent as it was, was not sufficient to effect this result. Deeply chagrined, Mr. Williams then renounced communion with the Salem church, as well as with the other churches of the colony, and established a service of preaching in his own house. To these exercises none were admitted save those few who still adhered to his fortunes. Even his wife, who persisted in attending the

[1] *Magnalia Christi Americana*, ii, 498.

services of the church was excluded from these secret ministrations. Of this episode in the career of this remarkable man Cotton Mather made this record:—

The neighbouring churches, both by petition and messengers, took such happy pains with the church at Salem as presently recovered that flock to a sense of his aberrations; which Mr. Williams perceiving, though he had a little before bragged that "of all the churches in the world those of New England were the purest; and of all in New England that whereof himself was the teacher;" yet he now, staying at home, sent unto the church of Salem then assembled, a letter to give them notice' "that if they would not separate as well from the churches of New England as of Old, he would separate from them." His more considerate church not yielding to these lewd proposals, he never would come to their assemblies any more; no, nor uold any comunion in any exercise of religion with any person, so much as his own wife, that went up unto their assemblies; but at the same time he kept a meeting in his own house, whereto resorted such as he had infected with his extravagances.[1]

And so the die was cast, and it was determined to take advantage of the provision of the charter of the colony which, as we have already seen, allowed the magistrates to "expulse and repel by all fitting ways and means whatsoever all such person and persons as shall at any time hereafter attempt or enterprise the detriment or annoyance to the said plantation or its inhabitants."

And yet, the General Court of the Bay Colony cannot be regarded as having acted hastily in the case of Roger Williams. On the contrary on account, no doubt, of his many estimable qualities and his excellent personal character, they had acted with the greatest moderation and caution.

The court, about a year before they proceeded unto the ban-

[1] *Magnalia Christi Americana*, i, 496, 497.

ishment of this incendiary, (writes Cotton Mather,) sent for the pastors of the neighbouring churches to intimate unto them their design of thus proceeding against him; which yet they were loth to do, before they had advised the elders of it, because he was himself an elder. Mr. Cotton, with the consent of the other ministers, presented a request unto the magistrates that they would please to forbear prosecuting of him, till they themselves, with their churches had, in a church way, endeavored his conviction and repentance; for they alledged that they hoped his violences proceeded rather from a misguided conscience than from a seditious principle. The governor foretold unto them, "You are deceived in the man if you think he will condescend to learn of any of you;" however, the proposal of the ministers was approved and allowed. But several of the churches having taken the best pains they could, tho' they happily brought the church of Salem to join with them in dealing with the man, vet the effect was that he renounced them all as no churches of our Lord Jesus Christ. Whereupon the court ordered his removal out of the jurisdiction.[1]

It must be understood also that the case of Mr. Williams did not stand alone in punishment administered for what was regarded as seditious utterance. Some months previous to the banishment of Williams, the case of Israel Stoughton had been brought before the court and had attracted no little attention. The record reads:—

Whereas Mr. Israel Stoughton hath written a certain booke wch hath occasioned much trouble and offence to the court, the sd Mr. Stoughton did desire of the court that sd booke might forthwith be burnt as being weake and offensiue.[2]

This submission on the part of the offender did not, however, serve to relieve him of the consequences of his

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[1] *Magnalia Christi Americana*, i, 497.

[2] Records, i, 135.

indiscretion; for at the same session of the General Court sentence was pronounced upon him, as follows:—

It is ordered that Mr. Israel Stoughton shalbe disenabled for bearing any publ office in the comonwealth within this jurisdiccon for the space of three years, for affirmeing the Assistants were noe magistrates.[1]

At the same session of the Court at which Williams was banished, we find by the records that one John Smyth, "for dyvers dangerous opinions wch hee holdeth & hath dyvulged," was also ordered to depart from the limits of the colony within the six weeks next ensuing.[2]

But Mr. Williams did not at once take his departure from the limits of the colony, in obedience to the command of the Great and General Court. The winter was approaching, and Mr. Williams' health was none of the best. Whether he requested a stay of his sentence until spring, or whether the privilege was granted by the magistrates as an act of courtesy, or perhaps of mercy, cannot be determined. That the birth of a child to him was at this time anticipated is beyond doubt. That his sentence was suspended is undoubtedly true, and this upon the tacit, if not actually expressed, understanding that he should refrain, in the interim, from further promulgating those ideas which had proved so obnoxious, and which had so nearly resulted, by their open publication, in disrupting the colony. To publish these ideas was, however, with him a matter of conscience—or of self-will—for he continued to do so without cessation. It soon became known that he was accustomed to gather together congregations at his own house at Salem, to whom he continued to inveigh against the king's charter. It is quite

[1] *Ibid*, i, 136.

[2] *Ibid*, i, 159.

probable that, had he confined himself to theology alone, the magistrates, making wry faces perhaps, might nevertheless have refrained from enforcing their sentence. But that he should continue to attack the patent, and, moreover, should attempt to create schism in the body politic, and thus still further endanger the permanency of their charter, was not to be endured. To have tempted the Salem church to withdraw from fellowship and communion with the other churches of the Bay was to tempt them to secede from political union with the colony (thus in some measure anticipating the events of 1861.)

It was then determined, at a meeting of the governor and assistants held in the ensuing January, that he should be sent to England (as had been other malcontents) in a ship that was about to sail. This determination was reached the more readily, since the rumor was spread abroad that Mr. Williams had drawn about twenty persons to his opinions, and that he was planning to lead them out of the Bay Colony into the Narragansett country there to erect a plantation. It was feared that, were this done, "the infection would easily spread into these churches."

A summons was first sent to him to come to Boston; but he pleaded illness and declined to obey the summons. Captain John Underhill—the same who had taken Sir Christopher Gardiner, a few years before, under arrest from Plymouth to Boston—was despatched in a sailboat to Salem, with orders to apprehend Williams and place him on board a vessel bound for England, then lying at Nantasket Roads. But when Underhill and his party reached the dwelling of Williams at Salem, they found that he had fled three days before. Whither he had gone they were not able to learn. Winthrop thus records the occurrence:

11 Mo., Jan. 1635.—The governour and assistants met at Boston to consider about Mr. Williams, for they were credibly informed that, notwithstanding the injunction laid upon him (upon the liberty granted him to stay till the spring) not to go about to draw others to his opinions, he did use to entertain company in his house and to preach to them, even of such points as he had been censured for; and it was agreed to send him into England, by a ship then ready to depart. The reason was because he had drawn above twenty persons to his opinions, and they were intended to erect a plantation about the Narragansett Bay, from whence the infection would easily spread into these churches, (the people being, many of them much taken with the apprehension of his godliness). Whereupon a warrant was sent to him to come presently to Boston, to be shipped, etc. He returned answer (and divers of Salem came with it) that he could not come without hazard of his life, etc. Whereupon a pinnace was sent with commission to Capt. Underhill, etc., to apprehend him and carry him aboard the ship, (which then rode at Natascutt, [Nantasket]) but when they came at his home they found he had been gone three days before; but whither they could not learn. He had so far prevailed at Salem as many there (especially devout women) did embrace his opinions and separated from the churches for this cause, that some of their members, going into England, did hear the ministers there and when they came home the churches held communion with them.[1]

This, then, was the close of the career of Roger Williams in the Bay Colony. It had been of but four years' duration, but within that time the people of the Bay, who had left England mainly to escape from religious controversies, had found their lives scarcely more free from discussion and dissension than in the old country. The disputants upon the occasion of the famous ride to Sempringham were all in New England; and he who precipitated the controversy over the use of the Book of Common Prayer,

[1]Winthrop, i, 209.

was ever ready with fresh causes of dispute. His lance was ever poised in its rest; and, whether the question was one involving the most serious political considerations, or one concerning a trivial detail in woman's attire, the knight was ever ready with parry and thrust, to enforce his opinions against all the world.

Roger Williams now disappears from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay and passes out of the life of its people. We shall see, however, that he was not forgotten, and that he was by many, and especially by Winthrop, held in high esteem for his many excellent personal qualities. Many friendly and even affectionate epistles passed between the two men, during the years which followed. Williams, who was on terms of friendship with the Indians, several times, as we shall see, gave valuable information to Winthrop and through him to the Bay Colony, of intended hostilities, and enabled him to ward off approaching danger. But, notwithstanding this friendly intercourse, the Bay Colony preferred to lavish its affection upon Mr. Williams by letter, rather than by personal contact, and persistently, despite the request of influential friends, declined to abate by a single jot, the letter of its resolution of banishment.

CHAPTER VIII

The reader who has followed closely the career of Mr. Williams while in the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, can but be struck with one trait of character which predominated all. This was the intense love of controversy and of forensic argument. Whatever was the subject which had been brought forward for discussion, he was foremost among the disputants, excelling all others in the intensity of his argumentation. So fully did this trait dominate his character that neither his own personal well-being, nor the public welfare, served to check his impetuosity. It would appear from a careful consideration of all the circumstances connected with his final expulsion from the Bay Colony, that it was not the fact that he held certain "newe and dangerous opinions," but that he "broached and dyvulged" them, and that persistently, to the serious danger of the body politic, which caused the magistrates reluctantly to take the final action in his case.

More than one hundred years after the escape of Roger Williams from Salem, to evade arrest at the hands of John Underhill, the wisest man then living in all England discussed among his friends, this selfsame point of political ethics, and reached the same conclusion as did Winthrop and his Assistants.

At a dinner at the house of Edward and Charles Dilly, booksellers, in London, in the year 1773, Dr. Samuel Johnson was the chief guest. About the board among others were seated Boswell, the future biographer; Oliver Goldsmith; Dr. Toplady, whose name has safe immor-

tality in the hymn, "Rock of Ages"; and Dr. Mayo, a dissenting clergyman—truly a representative company. The subject of toleration was broached, and a discussion ensued, all present listening with interest to Dr. Johnson as he discoursed upon the theme. "Every society," said Johnson, "has a right to preserve public peace and order, and, therefore, has a good right to prohibit the propagation of opinions which have a dangerous tendency. To say the magistrate has this right is using an inadequate word; it is the society for which the magistrate is agent. He may be morally or theologically wrong in restraining the propagation of opinions which he thinks dangerous, but he is politically right."

Said Dr. Mayo: "I am of opinion, sir, that every man is entitled to liberty of conscience in religion; and that the magistrate cannot restrain that right."

"Sir, I agree with you," replied Dr. Johnson. "Every man has a right to liberty of conscience and with that the magistrate cannot interfere. People confound liberty of thinking with liberty of talking, nay, with liberty of preaching. Every man has a physical right to think as he pleases; for it cannot be discovered how he thinks. He has not a moral right, for he ought to inform himself and think justly. But, sir, no member of a society has a right to teach any doctrine contrary to what the society holds to be true. The magistrate, I say, may be wrong in what he thinks; but while he thinks himself right, he may and ought to enforce what he thinks."

"But, sir, is it not very hard," argued Dr. Mayo, "that I should not be allowed to teach my children what I really believe to be the truth?"

"Why, sir," returned Johnson, "you might contrive to teach your children *extra scandalum;* but, sir, the

magistrate, if he knows it, has a right to restrain you. Suppose you teach your children to be thieves."

"This is making a joke of the subject," remonstrated Dr. Mayo.

"Nay, sir, take it thus," said Dr. Johnson, "that you teach them the community of goods; for which there are as many plausible arguments as for most erroneous doctrines. You teach them that all things at first were in common, and that no man had a right to anything but as he laid his hands upon it; and that this still is, or ought to be, the rule among mankind. Here, sir, you sap a great principle in society,—property. And don't you think the magistrate would have a right to prevent you? Or, suppose you should teach your children the notion of the Adamites and they should run naked into the streets, would not the magistrate have a right to flog them into their doublets?"

"I think," said Dr. Mayo, "the magistrate has no right to interfere till there is some overt act."

"So, sir," interposed Boswell, "though he sees an enemy to the State charging a blunderbuss, he is not to interfere till it is fired off."

"He must be sure of its direction against the State," insisted Dr. Mayo.

"The magistrate is to judge of that," said Johnson. "If I think it right to steal Mr. Dilly's plate, I am a bad man; but he can say nothing to me. If I make an open declaration that I think so, he will keep me out of his house. If I put forth my hand I shall be sent to Newgate. This is the gradation of thinking, preaching and acting; if a man thinks erroneously, he may keep his thoughts to himself and nobody will trouble him; if he preaches erroneous doctrine, society may expel him; if

he acts in consequence of it, the law takes place and he is hanged."

"Sir," said Dr. Toplady, "you have untwisted this difficult subject with great dexterity,"[1]

Such, doubtless, were the arguments which Winthrop and the magistrates of the Bay employed in considering the case of Williams. A careful survey of all the circumstances and a study of the political conditions at the time, can but assure the student that it was the political, far more than the religious, aspect of the case which created the chief alarm among the colonists, and precipitated their final rupture with Williams. The Pilgrims of Plymouth were Separatists, and to them he resorted when he discovered that the people of the Bay were not in formal accord with this wing of English non-conformists. But, notwithstanding his agreement with the Plymouth brethren, touching their relations to the English church, he soon was at variance with them upon other points. Even the mild mannered Bradford, although recognizing his godliness and zeal, and his possession of "many precious parts," lost his patience with Williams. He began, the governor tells us, "to fall into some strange opinions, and from opinion to practise." It may be that Bradford, and the people of Plymouth, had Williams contented himself with cherishing his unusual opinions, and had refrained from "practise," might yet have borne with him. In so doing, they would have been in full agreement with the arguments of Dr. Johnson, advanced a century later.

What were these strange opinions and practices with which he vexed the Plymouth brethren? Governor Bradford gives us no hint, neither does Nathaniel Morton,

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[1]Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Geo. Birbeck Hill, ed. 1891, ii, 286, *et seq.*

the secretary of the plantation, in his *New England' Memorial.* We must conclude that the differences between the church and him, which resulted from his promulgation of his opinions, were chiefly religious and that his failure to lead them into the light, as he saw it, was the cause of his abrupt withdrawal from Plymouth. We know, however, that Mr. Williams prepared his treatise, in which he made his first attack upon the king's patent, during his sojourn at Plymouth; and it is not impossible that he may have made this attack public while there.

At all events, removing to Salem, Williams almost immediately began an open attack upon the moral validity of the charter of the Bay Colony. Reproved for this, and shown the danger to the colony, which must necessarily follow the promulgation of such ideas, he at first expressed regret and assured the magistrates of the Bay that he had written the treatise only for the private satisfaction of the governor and others of Plymouth. He offered his treatise to be burnt, and promised to desist from the propagation of his opinions.

But this promise was soon broken. He not only inveighed, early and late, against the patent, but, when a disruption of the colony was threatened, and when it was feared that their foes might be those of their own household, he also attempted to create a feeling of discontent and opposition to the oath of fealty.

In points of theological controversy, as well, Mr. Williams put himself at variance with the other ministers of the Bay Colony. In this he continued the habit formed while at Plymouth, or, as is probably true, he showed forth his natural character. Possessed of an even temper and a sweet disposition, he had also that anomalous characteristic, a disputatious spirit. He dearly loved controversy: he courted opposition.

It is somewhat remarkable that, if we except Winthrop's announcement of his arrival, no allusion is made to Williams, by any of the colonial historians and annalists, save by way of recording what were regarded as vagaries. Winthrop of Boston, Bradford and Morton of Plymouth, and Hubbard of Ipswich, near Salem, substantially agree in their estimate of this man. And yet, disputatious as he was, Williams was in no wise of a quarrelsome disposition. "We have often tried your patience," wrote Winthrop to Williams, years after, "but could never conquer it."[1] Thus the governor of Massachusetts united with the governor of Plymouth in paying tribute to the excellent personal qualities of the man of whom, as magistrates, they could not approve.

But although we can glean from the historians of the period, little or nothing concerning the life of Williams, save that he seems to have been constantly engaged in controversy, we learn from the writings of Williams himself that he passed his time, both while at Plymouth and Salem, in religious exercises and in labor with his hands. Among the Indians, too, he labored, dwelling with them often in their homes, that he might have opportunity for learning their language, and so be enabled to preach to them the gospel. "God was pleased to give me a painful patient spirit," he wrote, years after, in a communication to the General Court in Providence, "to lodge with them in their filthy smoke holes, (even while I lived in Plymouth and Salem) to gain their tongue." And again, in the same paper he says: "My soul's desire was to do the natives good, and to that end to have their tongue."[2]

He devoted attention also to the material as well as

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[1]Proc. Mass. His. Soc. 1855-158, 314.

[2]*Rhode Island Historical Tracts*, xiv, 53, 54.

to the spiritual, and opened up, for his own account, an extensive trade with the natives, purchasing the pelts collected in the chase, and disposing of them to the English traders. This we learn from a letter written by him many years later, to Major Mason, wherein he recounts his troubles and his triumphs. "I was sorely tossed, for one fourteen weeks," he writes, "in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean, beside the yearly loss of no small matter in my trading with English and natives, being debarred from Boston, the chief mart and port of New England. God knows that many thousand pounds cannot repay the very temporary losses I have sustained."[1]

Two circumstances lead the student, however unwillingly, to suspect, in the study of the character of Williams, a shade of inconsistency, which had its origin in an illogical habit of thought. He attacked with vigor the oath of fealty, and, indeed, declared against all forms of oath, to which any unregenerate person should be a party; and yet we find, as already recorded, that he himself, in May, 1631, had not scrupled to take the freeman's oath.[3] It is to be urged, to be sure, that there was another settler named Roger Williams, an inhabitant of Dorchester, and it is not impossible, but entirely probable, that this may have been the man, and not his clerical contemporary, who was admitted to be a freeman.

But a similar explanation cannot be urged, when we consider his long continued and persistent attack upon the validity of the colonists' title to the land upon which their homes had been built; and remember, that at the same time, he himself was the owner of a homestead estate in Salem. The shrewd man of business surely will not

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[1]Pub. Nar. Club, vi, 336.

accept the title-deeds of a piece of real property, the title to which he has reason to believe is clouded; neither would it seem, would a genuinely sincere critic of the moral validity of a royal patent, conveying title to a tract of land, consent to acquire for himself ownership in a portion of that land, the title to which should be gained through the holders of that patent.

That Roger Williams was the owner of real property in Salem, prior to his departure from that town, is made certain in an extract from a letter to John Winthrop, written about two years subsequent to the settlement at Providence.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP

To his much honored Mr. Governor John Winthrop,

Providence, [June, 1638]

* * * * * * *

Secondly, a word in mine own particular, only for information. I owe between 50 and 60 *li* to Mr. Cradock for commodities received from Mr. Mayhew. Mr. Mayhew will testify that (being Mr. Cradock's agent) he was content to take payment, what (and when) my house at Salem yielded: accordingly I long since put it into his hand and he into Mr. Jollies', who beside my voluntary act and his attachment since, sues as I hear for damages, which I questioned; since I have not failed against contract and content of the first agent, but the holy pleasure of the Lord be done; unto whose merciful arms (with all due respect) I leave you, wishing heartily that mercy and goodness may ever follow you and yours. ROGER WILLIAMS.

He makes further allusion to his ownership of real property in Salem in a letter written in the year 1677 and addressed to the commissioners of the respective colonies assembled at Providence. "I mortgaged my house and

land at Salem," he wrote, "(with some hundredths) for supplies to go through."[1]

But it is not alone his personal ownership of a parcel of real estate, within the bounds covered by the patent, which suggests an illogical mind. The matter which well nigh led to a schism between the Salem church and the other churches of the Bay, was the refusal of the General Court to set off to the former a grant of land at Marblehead Neck; and it was this refusal which impelled Williams, in behalf of the Salem church to write to the other churches the letters of censure of the magistrates; which letters were the cause of the final rupture between Williams, the Salem church, and the magistracy of the Bay. Would not a perfectly logical mind have decided that, since the patent had been wrongfully granted, and should be surrendered back to the king, all grants of land, received under that patent were equally improper and sinful? The argument is certainly valid, that, if the colonists had wrongfully received a grant of land from the hand of the king, which land he had no right to alienate from the natives, then the grant of a portion of that land by the colony to an individual, or to a corporate body, could be founded upon no true title.

The student of the character and career of Roger Williams cannot fail to perceive that, prior to his expulsion from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, all of the controversies in which he engaged—if we may except his treatise against the patent, which was burned—were conducted orally, and were never committed to writing; after the removal from Salem and the foundation of the Providence Plantations, he had resort to the pen, and conducted a series of vigorous controversial writings,

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[1]R. I. Hist. Tracts, xvi, 52.

ROGER WILLIAMS' DWELLING AT SALEM, MASS.
Later occupied by Judge Carwin, one of the judges in the witchcraft trials

notably with John Cotton. Hence there is no record of his life in Plymouth and in Salem, save those which have already been considered; and in these no trace is found of the sentiments of liberty of conscience; of separation of Church and State; and of a lodgment in the people of true sources of human government—sentiments which are found in profusion in his writings, and which have served to place him upon the highest plane in statesmanship. It was after his removal to wider fields, and among people who recognized his unquestioned leadership, that his mind expanded, and, building upon the foundation which he had already laid, clearing away the mists and vagaries which had obscured his vision, he erected a political edifice of beauty and grandeur which has now the admiration of all posterity.

The form of government adopted by the Bay colonists was unquestionably a pure theocracy. On the eighteenth of May, 1631, the General Court "ordered and agreed that for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." This system was quite at variance with that established by Williams, in the colony of which he was afterward the founder, as we shall soon see. It was widely at variance with the system of government adopted by the United States of America, a century and a half later. But if we except his contention that no power dwells in the magistrate to punish breaches of the first table of the decalogue, we nowhere find any trace prior to his banishment, of his opposition to a theocratic form of government, which in after time, was so fully developed. The first table of the decalogue comprises five commands regarding duties of man towards his Maker; the second includes five regarding his duties toward his fellow man.

Included among the first of these groups are the commands against profanity and Sabbath breaking, infraction of which are, even to the present day, by the Statutes of Massachusetts, regarded as misdemeanors. Mr. Williams, years after his banishment from the Bay, in discussing the subject of government, wrote:

> By these New England ministers' principles, not only is the doore of calling to magistracy shut against naturall and unregenerate men, (though excellently fitted for civill offices) but also against the best and ablest servants of God, except they be entered into church estate, so that thousands of God's owne people (excellently qualified) not knowing, or not entring into such a church estate, shall not be accounted fit for civill services.

The implied dissent to the principles of theocracy, contained in this passage, when compared with the crude and unconsidered contention against the true power of the magistrates, in the matter of the first table, displays an increase in breadth of thought, as remarkable as it is notable. In the latter we behold him, as it were, groping after a principle, as yet not fully developed in his mind. In the first we see a thoroughly considered political sentiment, which, more fully expanded, formed the groundwork of the political edifice of our great republic.

The record of Cotton Mather, of the closing scene in the career of Williams in the Bay Colony—although the testimony of a bitter theological opponent—is useful as showing the popular understanding at the time, of the chief causes of his banishment. After a somewhat rambling and throughly partisan discussion of the religious opinions of Williams, which served to bring him into antagonism with the ministers of the Bay, Mather continues:

> These things were indeed very disturbant and offensive; but

[1]The *Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*—Publications of the Narragansett Club, iii, 333.

there were two things in his quixotism that made it no longer convenient for the civil authority to remain unconcerned about him. For first, whereas the King of England had granted a royal charter unto the "governour and company" of this colony, this hot headed man publickly and furiously preached against the patent, as "an instrument of injustice" and pressed both rulers and people to be humbled for their sin in taking such a patent, and utterly throw it up, on an insignificant pretence of wrong thereby done unto the Indians, which were the natives of the country, therein given to the subject of the English crown. Secondly an order of the court, upon some first occasion had been made, that an "oath of fidelity" should be, though not imposed upon, yet offered unto the freemen, the better to distinguish those whose fidelity might render them capable of imployment in the government; which order this man vehemently withstood, on a pernicious pretence that it was the prerogative of our Lord Christ alone to have his office established with an oath; and that an oath being the worship of God, carnal persons, whereof he supposed there were many in the land, might not be put upon it. These crimes at last procured a sentence of banishment upon him.[1]

If we are forced to doubt, on account of his partisanship, the thorough sincerity of Cotton Mather in this record, we cannot, in like manner reject the testimony of Roger Williams' friend and well wisher, Governor Edward Winslow of Plymouth. He it was who, troubled in mind and anxious for the welfare of his friend, made a journey from Plymouth to Providence, through the unbroken wilderness, for the purpose of paying him a visit. "It pleased the Father of Spirits," wrote Williams to Major Mason, "to touch many hearts dear to him, with some relentings; amongst which, that great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted and kindly visited me

[1]Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, ii, 501.

at Providence and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife for our supply."[1]

This man, in the year 1646, published a treatise under the title *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, a discussion of the Samuel Gorton episode in Massachusetts history. In this work, a brief allusion is made to Roger Williams, and to the causes which led to his banishment.

"I know that Mr. Williams," says his dear friend Winslow, ("though a man lovely in his carriage and whom I trust the Lord will yet recall,") held forth in those times the unlawfulness of our Letters Patents from the King, &c., would not allow the Colours of our Nation, denyed the lawfulnesse of a publique oath as being needlesse to the Saints and a prophanation of God's name to tender it to the wicked, &c., and truly I never heard but he was dealt with for these and such like points; however I am sorry for the love I beare to him and his, I am forced to mention it, but God cals mee at this time to take off these aspersions."[2]

Sir William Martin, one of the staunch friends of the Bay Colony in England, in some manner learning of the attitude assumed by Williams, as touching separation, was much concerned, both for him and them. Writing to Winthrop concerning some matter in connection with the welfare of the colony, Sir William, evidently unaware that Williams had already gone from among them, wrote thus:

Sir William Martin to Governor Winthrop.

I am glad to heare of Mr. Norton's safe arrivall and should have been more glad if it had beene at the baye. I hope he will settle with you; his abilityes are more than ordinary and will be acceptable and profitable to the churches. I have received Prats exposition from Mr. Downing; and in the mayne I finde little

[1]Pubs. Nar. Club, vi, 337.

[2]*Hypocrisie Unmasked*, p. 65 *et seq.*

difference therein from his letters. I should be glad to be truly informed by you, what you conceive of the soyle and meanes of subsistances, and whether that exposition agrees with the truth of things. I am sorry to heare of Mr. Williams's separation from you. His former good affections to you and the plantations were well known unto me and make me wonder now at his proceedinges. I have wrote to him effectually to submit to better judgments, especially to those whom formerly he reverenced and admired; at least to keep the bond of peace inviolable. This hath been always my advice; and nothing conduceth more to the good of plantations. I praye shew him what lawfull favour you can, which may stand with the common good. He is passionate and precipitate, which may transport him into error, but I hope his integrity and good intentions will bring him at last into the ways of truth and confirm him therein. In the meane time, I pray God to give him a right use of this affliction. Thus leavinge him to your favourable censures, and you all to the direction of God, with my best respects to you and yours, I sign me,

Your affectionate,

W. M.

[London] March 29, 1636.[1]

[1] *Pubs. Prince Soc.—Hutchinson Papers*, i, 106.

CHAPTER IX

There are no records extant, save those which Mr. Williams himself has left us, which tell of his wanderings and of his destination, after his abrupt departure from Salem, warned, as he doubtless had been, of the approach of Captain Oldham. Thirty-five years later, in a long letter written to Major Mason, to which allusion was made in the last chapter, he shows that for fourteen weeks he wandered in the wilderness, harbored and sheltered, we must believe, by friendly Indians. At length, by hand of a messenger, who sought him out in his place of refuge, he was given a letter from Governor Winthrop, who in it gave him friendly counsel. Let Mr. Williams himself tell us the story, even as he told it to his correspondent:

First, when I was unkindly and unchristianly, as I believe, driven from my house and land, and wife and children (in the midst of a New England winter, now about thirty-five years past) at Salem, that ever honored Governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote to me to steer my course to Narraganset Bay and Indians, for many high and heavenly and public ends, encouraging me, from the freeness of the place from any English claims or patents. I took his prudent notion as a hint and voice from God and waving all other thoughts and motions, I steered my course from Salem, (though in winter snow, which I feel yet) unto these parts, wherein I may say Peniel, that is, I have seen the face of God.

Second, I first pitched and began to build and plant at Seekouk, now Rehoboth, but I received a letter from my ancient friend, Mr. Winslow, then governor of Plymouth, professing his own and others' love and respect to me, yet lovingly advising me,

since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loath to displease the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water and there, he said, I had the country free before me and might be as free as themselves. These were the joint understandings of those two eminently wise and Christian governors and others, in their day, together with their counsel and advice as to the freedom and vacancy of this place which in this respect, and many other Providences of the Most Holy and Only Wise, I called PROVIDENCE.[1]

Mr. Williams was accompanied in his brief journey to his new place of settlement by five men, his friends and admirers. These were William Harris, John Smith, a miller, Joshua Verin, Thomas Angell and Francis Wickes. The second of these, it will be remembered, received a sentence of banishment from the Bay Colony, at the same session of the General Court as that at which the order of banishment against Williams was adopted. Of the five, little or nothing is known save that they joined their fortunes to those of their leader, and aided him in the establishment of the new plantations.

Some years after the Providence Plantations had been placed upon a firm basis, Mr. Williams wrote a letter addressed to John Cotton. in which he reviewed his banishment and its causes, attacking especially Mr. Cotton, as the chief cause of the Colony's action. In his *Reply to Mr. Williams, his Examination*, Mr. Cotton says:—

Before my coming into New England, the godly-wise and vigilant Ruling Elder of Plymouth, (aged Mr. Bruister) had warned the whole church of the danger of his spirit, which moved the better part of the church to be glad of his removall from there into the Bay. And in the Bay, not long before my coming he began to oppose the King's patent, with much vehemency, (as he had done at Plymouth before) which made the

[1]Publications of Narragansett Club, vi. 335.

magistrates to feare they should have more to doe with him then with a man publickly acknowledged to be godly and dearely beloved. . . . .

But whereas he saith *He was exposed to the mercie of an howling wilderness, in frost, snow, etc.*, the truth is, the sentence of his banishment out of the patent was pronounced against him in the court before winter and respite was given him to tarry certain weeks (six or more) to prepare for his journey. In the meantime some of his friends went to the place appointed by himself before hand to make provision of housing and other necessaries for him against his coming; otherwise he might have chosen to have gone either Southward to his acquaintance at Plymouth, or Eastward to Pascatogne or Aganimiticus. And then the wilderness had been as no wilderness, (at least no howling wilderness) where men sit downe under warme and dry roofes, sheltered from the annoyance of frost and snow and other winter hardships.[1]

From this passage it would appear, although there is no other evidence, that the five friends of Williams, aware of his contemplated flight from Salem, preceded him into the wilderness and made ready for his coming the first camp on the banks of that river which bears the triple name of the Blackstone, the Seekonk and the Pawtucket.[2] The company remained here during the remainder of the winter and in the spring planted their crops. But they were destined again to be disturbed for, as Mr. Williams himself has already told us, he received a letter from Governor Winslow, at Plymouth, in which he was informed that the new plantation was within the limits covered by the Plymouth patent; that

[1]Publications of the Narragansett Club, ii, 12 *et seq.*

[2]This river, from its source to Pawtucket falls is called the *Blackstone* for William Blackstone, the first settler of Boston, who afterward settled on its banks. Below the falls, on its east bank it is known as the *Seekonk*, on the west bank as the *Pawtucket*.

the Plymouth brethren were loath to displease them of the Bay, by allowing a settlement within their limits, of men who were at variance with the magistracy of that colony; and suggesting, in a friendly way that all possible occasion of friction would be removed if Mr. Williams and his friends would but make their plantation on the farther bank of the river.

Mr. Williams, unwilling to precipitate, by his action, a possible quarrel between the authorities of the Bay and of Plymouth,—although, by so doing he endangered the year's harvest—abandoned his plantation, and with his followers, embarked in a canoe and pushed down the river in search of a new situation. And now comes into the narrative the first occurrence, in the relation of which tradition must succeed to literal record. It is the full belief of the good people of Providence, even unto this day, that, as Roger Williams and his party paddled down the stream a group of Indians, who recognized them, espied them from the summit of a great rock upon the river's bank. In recognition of the kindness which they had received from the hands and lips of Williams, they sent forth a salutation to the voyagers, with the cry, "What cheer, Netop," or, in more intelligible language, "What good news, friend?"

The story goes that the travellers, pausing in their journey, stepped upon the rock—which was, for two centuries and a half after, known as "Slate Rock"—and returned the greetings of their Indian friends. Then, re-embarking, they continued down the river to its mouth, rounded the promontory, including India point and Fox point, and entered an estuary of Narragansett Bay. Proceeding northward a short distance, until they reached the confluence of the rivers Woonasquatucket and

Moshassuck, they there disembarked, near a great spring of sweet water. Here they made their home; and here, in the process of time, was builded a great city, which has taken for the motto upon its corporate seal, the legend *What Cheer.*

To this little company of six men others soon joined themselves and, the community beginning to assume respectable proportions, it became evident that some form of government must soon be adopted. It is a remarkable circumstance that notwithstanding the prominent part which John Winthrop assumed in the banishment of Roger Williams, the personal friendship and mutual esteem of the two men were never shaken. Each recognized the thorough sincerity of the other, and the letters which passed between the two, many of which are still extant, betray the warm regard which they maintained each for the other. Naturally, then, and inasmuch as Mr. Williams had, as yet, no experience in statecraft, he desired to consult with his friend Winthrop,—then the deputy governor of the Bay—concerning a suitable form of government for the new colony. The letter which he wrote to Winthrop upon this subject, and which here follows, was written, evidently not long after the company had set down on the Woonasquatucket, and probably in the summer of 1636. This letter bears evidence that Williams was not relying wholly upon the advice which he hoped to obtain from Winthrop, but that he had tentatively determined upon forming a democracy, compacted by mutual agreement of its members, after the model of the organization formed by the Mayflower compact. That he had not, when this letter was written, determined upon a political organization, from which ecclesiastical power should be wholly excluded, is evident from the

omission of a most significant clause, from the two models of a compact which he submitted to Winthrop, as will hereafter appear. The letter follows:—

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

For his much honored, Mr. John Winthrop, Deputy Governor these.

MUCH HONORED SIR—The frequent experience of your loving ear, ready and open toward me (in what your confcience that permitted) as alfo of that excellent fpirit of wifdom and prudence wherewith the Father of Lights hath endued you, emolden me to requeft a word of private advife with the fooneft convenience, if it maybe, by this meffenger.

The condition of myfelf and thofe few families here planting with me, you know full well: we have no Patent: nor doth the face of Magiftracy fuit with our prefent condition. Hitherto, the mafters of families have ordinarily met once a fortnight and confulted about our common peace, watch, and planting; and mutual confent have finifhed all matters with fpeed and peace.

Now of late fome young men, fingle perfons (of whom we had much need) being admitted to freedom of inhabitation, and promifing to be fubject to the orders made by the confent of the householders, are difcontented with their eftate, and feek the freedom of vote alfo, and equality, &c.

Befide, our dangers (in the midft of thefe dens of lions) now efpecially, call upon us to be compact in a civil way and power.

I have therefore had thoughts of propounding to my neighbors a double fubfcription, concerning which I fhall humbly crave your help.

The firft concerning ourfelves, the mafters of families: thus,

We whofe names are hereunder written, late inhabitants of the Maffachufetts, (upon occafion of fome difference of confcience,) being permitted to depart from the limits of that Patent, under the which we came over into thefe parts, and being caft by the Providence of the God of Heaven, remote from others of our countrymen amongft the barbarians in this town of New

Providence, do with free and joint confent promife each unto other, that, for our common peace and welfare (until we heare further of the King's royal pleafure concerning ourfelves) we will from time to time fubject ourfelves in active or paffive obedience to fuch orders and agreements, as fhall be made by the greater number of the prefent houfeholders, and fuch as fhall be hereafter admitted by their confent into the fame privilege and covenant in our ordinary meeting. In witnefs whereof we hereunto fubfcribe, &c.

Concerning thofe few young men, and any who fhall hereafter (by your favorable connivance) defire to plant with us this,—

We whofe names are hereunder written, being defirous to inhabit in this Town of New Providence, do promife to fubject ourfelves in active or paffive obedience to fuch orders and agreements as fhall be made from time to time, b the greater number of the prefent houfeholders of this Town, and fuch whom they fhall admit into the fame fellowfhip and privilege. In witness whereof, &c.

Hitherto we choofe one, (named the officer,) to call the meeting at the appointed time: now it is defired by fome of us that the houfeholders by courfe perform that work, as alfo gather votes and fee the watch go on, &c.

I have not yet mentioned thefe things to my neighbors, but fhall as I fee caufe upon your loving counfel.

As also fince the place I have purchafed, fecondly, at mine owne charge and engagements, the inhabitants paying (by confent thirty fhillings a piece as they come, until my charge be out for their particular lots: and thirdly, that I never made any other covenant with any perfon, but that if I got a place he fhould plant there with me: my query is this,—

Whither I may not lawfully defire this of my neighbors, that as I freely fubject myfelf to common confent, and fhall not bring in any perfon into the town without their confent; fo alfo that againft my confent no perfon be violently brought in and received.

I defire not to fleep in fecurity and dream of a neft which no

hand can reach. I cannot but expect changes, and the change of the laft enemy death, yet dare I not defpife a liberty, which the Lord feemeth to offer me, if for mine own or others peace: and therefore have I been thus bold to prefent my thoughts unto you.

The Pequots hear of your preparations, &c., and comfort themfelves in this, that a witch amongft them will fink the pinnaces, by diving under water and making holes, &c., as alfo that they fhall now enrich themfelves with ftore of guns, but I hope their dreams (through the mercy of the Lord) fhall vanifh, and the devil and his lying forcerers fhall be confounded.

You may pleafe, Sir, to take notice that it is of main confequence to take some courfe with the Wunnafhowatuckoogs and Wufquowhananawkits, who are the furthermoft Neepnet men, for the Pequots driven from the fea coaft with eafe, yet there fecure and ftrengthen themfelves, and are then brought down fo much the nearer to you. Thus with the beft refpects to your loving felf and Mrs. Winthrop, I reft,

Your Worfhips unfeigned, praying to meet you in this vale of tears or hills of mercy above.

R. Williams.

The result of the deliberations of Williams, aided, it is not improbable, by the advice of his friend Winthrop, was the adoption and subscription of a compact of government which, in its terms, must be regarded as the most remarkable political document theretofore executed, not even excepting the Magna Charta. It was a document which placed a government, formed by the people and for the people, solely in the control of the civil arm. It gave the first example of a pure democracy, from which all ecclesiastical power was eliminated. It was the first enunciation of a great principle, which years later, formed the corner stone of the Great Republic. It was the act of a statesman fully a century in advance of his time.

The earliest records of the Providence Plantations are exceedingly meagre. It is a matter of history that the town of Providence was attacked by Indians and a considerable portion destroyed by fire, in the year 1676. If records then existed more voluminous than those now extant, it is probable that they were consumed in the conflagration which destroyed the town. Some of the early records are said to have been thrown into a pond as a place of safety (?) at this time, whence they were afterward rescued in a somewhat damaged condition. Upon the first page of the oldest book of records of Providence now in existence is found this compact—a book as sacredly cherished as is the History of New England, written in the quaint, crabbed handwriting of John Winthrop, or the carefully guarded chronicle of Plymouth Plantation, traced by the hand of William Bradford.

COMPACT.

We whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabitt in ye towne of Providence do promise to subiect ourselves in actiue or passiue obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for publick good of or body in an orderly way, by the maior consent of the present Inhabitants, maisters of families Incorporated together into a towne fellowship and others whome they shall admitt unto them

only in civill things

Richard Scott	Edward E. Cope
William Renolds.	Thomas Angell.
John ffeild.	Thomas Harris.
Chad Browne.	ffrancis Weekes.
John Warner.	Benedict Arnold.
George Rickard.	William Wickenden.

[1] *Early Records of the Town of Providence*, i, 1; *et vide, Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England* i, 14.

It will at once occur to the reader as noticeable, that this compact does not bear the name of Roger Williams, as one of its signers. The names of three of his five companions also are missing, two only appearing—those of Thomas Angell and Francis Wickes. A possible explanation of this circumstance is supplied by the editor of the Records of the Colony, in the supposition that these names thus signed, with the exception of the names of Angell and Wickes, are those of a second party of comers, and that the original compact signed by Williams and his immediate followers has been lost. That the names of Angell and Wickes here appear is explained by the editor by the supposition that they were minors at the time of signing the first compact, a supposition to which a record made by Williams lends a color of probability.

The second entry in this ancient book of records, bearing the date of June 16, [1636] is the record of a vote of the town determining a fine for such as should be more than a quarter of an hour late for the time appointed for a town meeting.

During his life at Plymouth and at Salem, as we already know, Mr. Williams had passed much of his time in the forest, making the acquaintance of the Indians and winning their confidence. In this he would appear to have been highly successful. Canonicus and his nephew Miantonomoh, the very powerful joint chiefs of the Narragansett tribe, held sway over this entire region. They had subdued the Wampanoags and had forced the submission of that tribe. At the time of the flight of Williams from Salem, the Narragansett chiefs were at odds with Ausamaquin, a chief at the eastward, although open hostilities had not, probably, begun. To reconcile these antagonists Williams at once bent his energies;

and it seems probable that this was the mission with which he was occupied during the period of fourteen weeks, which intervened between the time of his flight from Salem and his first settlement, on the banks of the Seekonk. While acting thus as a pacificator, Mr. Williams won the confidence and respect of the Narragansett chiefs; and when he made known to them his desire to make a plantation within their domains, he was made heartily welcome. A large tract of country, stretching from the Pawtucket to the Pawtuxet rivers was given to him. It is probable that the grant was originally made verbally, for no record of a formal conveyance appears, at an earlier date than March, 1637, nearly a year after the settlement was made near the great spring. From this conveyance it is seen that the original verbal grant was made two years earlier, or fully a month before Williams and his company "began to build and plant at Seekonk."

The tract of land thus granted to Roger Williams was a year and a half later, made over by him to the members of his company, in consideration of the sum of thirty pounds by them to him paid. This conveyance was made by a hastily drawn memorandum, in which the names of the grantees were inserted by initials only. This document is known by the Rhode Island antiquarians as the "Initial deed." Twenty-eight years after, for the purpose, probably, of making this record complete, Mr. Williams placed a second conveyance upon record, identical with the original, save that the names of the grantees were inserted, in place of their initials. This quaint and curious document is here presented:

DEED FROM CANNAUNICUS AND MIANTONOMI TO ROGER WILLIAMS.

At Nanhiggansick the 24th of the first month commonly called March, in the second year of our plantation or planting at Mooshansick or Providence,

Memorandum; that we, Cannaunicus and Meautunomi, the two chief sachems of Nanhiggansick, having two years since sold unto Roger Williams the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers called Mooshausick and Wanasgnatucket do now by these presents establish and confirm the bonds of these lands, from the river and fields at Pawtucket, the great hill of Neotaconkonitt on the northwest and the town of Mashapange on the west. As also in consederation of the many kindnesses and services he hath continually done for us, both with our friends Massachusetts, as also at Quinickicutt, and Apaum or Plymouth, we do freely give unto him all that land from those rivers, reaching to Pawtucket river, as also the grass and meadows upon the said Pawtucket river.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands.

The mark of X Caunaunicus.

The mark of X Meautunome.

In the presence of

The mark of X Seatash.

The mark of * Assotemewit.

1639, Memorandum, 3 mo., 9th day.—This was all again confirmed by Miantonomi, he acknowledging this his act and hand, up the streams of Pawtucket and Pawtuxet without limits, we might have for our use of cattle.

Witness hereof,

ROGER WILLIAMS.
BENEDICT ARNOLD.

This conveyance to his associates was further confirmed, in the year 1638, by a more formal and elaborate deed, in which the wife of Roger Williams joined. A

mutual agreement, in which Roger Williams and his associates, now increased to twelve, joined, was at the same time entered into, for the mutual ownership and disposition of the land thus acquired for a plantation.

Fifty years after these occurrences, Mr. Williams, then being advanced in age, for the information of posterity prepared a written statement, in the form of a deposition, wherein the circumstances attending the planting of the colony were detailed.

THE ENROLEMENT OF A. WRIGHTING
SIGNED BY ROGER WILLIAMS, AS FOLLOWETH:

Providence, 8 of ye 8th mon: 1638 (so called).

Memorandum yt I Roger Williams having formerly purchassed of Caunounicus & Miantenomue this our scituation, or plantation of New Providence, viz the Two ffresh Rivers Wanasgna tuckett & Mooshausick, and ye ground & Meadowes thereupon: In Consideration of thirtie poundes received from the Inhabetantes of the saide place, doe freely & ffully passe grant & make over Equall Right and power of Enjoyeing & dispossing the same groundes & Landes unto my Lo: ffriends & neighbors Stukley Westcoot; Wm Arnold; Thomas James; Robert Cole; John Greene; John Throckmorten; William Harris; Wm Carpenter; Tho: Olney; ffrancis Weston, Rich: Waterman; Ezechiell Holliman; and such others as the mayor part of us shall admitt into the same ffellowshipp of Voate with us. As also I doe ffreely make and passe over equall Right and power of Enjoyeing and despossing of the Lands and grounds Reaching from the aforesaid Rivers unto the great River Pautuxett with the grasse and meadowes there upon wœ was so lately given & granted by the aforesaid Sachims to me witnesse my hand:

Providence 22: 10, 1666 (so called).

This paper & writing is a true coppie of a wrighteing given by me about Twenty Eight yeares since, & differs not a tittle only

so is dated as neere as we could guesse about the time and the names of the men (writteen in a straight of time & hast) are here explained by me.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

in the presence of us
JOHN BROWNE.
JON SAYLES.
THOMAS HARRIS, Assistant.[1]

DEPOSITION OF ROGER WILLIAMS.

Narragansett, 18, June, 1682 *Ut Vul.*

I testify as in the presence of the allmaking and all-seeing God that about fifty years since I coming into this Narragansett Country I found a great contest between three sachems, two (to wit Cononicus and Miantonomy) were against Ousamaquin or Plymouth side. I was forced to travel between them three to pacify, to satisfy all their, and their dependent's spirits of my honest intentions to live peacably by them. I testify that it was the general and constant declaration that Cannonicus his father had three sons, whereof Cannonicus was the heire, and his youngest brother's son Miantonomy (because of his youth) was his marshal and executioner and did nothing without his unkle Cannonicus consent. And therefore I declare to posterity that were it not for the favor that God gave me with Cannonicus, none of these parts, no, not Rhode Island had been purchased or obtained, for I never got anything out of Cannonicus but by gift. I also profess that being inquisitive of what root the title or denomination Nahiganset should come, I heard that Nahiganset was so named from a little Island between Puttisgnomscut and Musqnomacuk on the sea and fresh water side. I went on purpose to see it and about the place called Sugar Loaf Hill I saw it and was within a pole of it, but could not learn why it was called Nahiganset. I had learnt that the Massachusetts was so called from the Blue Hills, a little Island thereabout; and Cannonicas father and

[1] *Early Records of the Town of Providence*, iii, 90.

anchestors living in these southern parts, transferred and brought their authority and name into those northern parts all along by the seaside; and I desire posterity to see the gracious hand of the Most High, (in whose hands is all hearts) that when the hearts of my country-men and friends and bretheren failed me, his infinite wisdom and merits stirred up the barbarous heart of Canonicus to love me as his own son to his last gasp, by which means I had not only Miantonomy and all the Cowesit sachems my friends, but Ousamaquin also who, because of my great friendship with him at Plymouth and the authority of Cannonicus consented freely (being also well gratified by me) to the Governor Winthrop's and my enjoyment of Prudence, yea of Providence itself, and all the other lands I procured of Cannonicus, which were upon the point, and in effect whatsoever I desired of him. And I never denyed him nor Miantonomy whatever they desired of me as to goods or gifts, or use of my boats or pinnace and the travels of my own person day and night, which though men knew not, nor care to know, yet the All-seeing eye hath seen it and his All-powerful hand hath helped me. Blessed be his holy name to eternity.

Roger Williams.

CHAPTER X

Auspiciously as the new life of the infant colony had begun, its sky was soon overclouded. The system of entire freedom of conscience, which had been adopted as the ground work of their fabric political, was itself the first cause of dissension; and the first malcontent was one of the five friends who followed—or, perhaps, preceded—Williams into the wilderness. In the midst of the cares of his magistracy, and of the bodily toil which necessarily accompanied the establishment of a new settlement, Williams did not forget the duty which devolved upon him also as a religious teacher. Not only on Sundays, but on week days also, it was his wont to gather together the people for divine worship and to listen to his teachings. Among his most frequent auditors was the wife of Joshua Verin, one of the devout women of Salem, who had so faithfully clung to his fortunes during the stormy days which preceded his departure from that place. So constant was Mistress Verin upon his ministrations, after the families were reunited in their new habitations, that her absence from home and its duties began to be severely felt. Verin, so one account goes, at last remonstrated and requested his wife to devote less time to her religious, and more to her house-wifely, duties. The attitude of the husband came to the ears of Mr. Williams and the leading men of the town, and a town meeting was called to consider the matter; for it was charged that Verin, in his interference with his wife's religious privileges, had broken the covenant of religious freedom, upon which their colony had been founded.

A warm discussion ensued and William Arnold ardently espoused the cause of Verin. Governor Winthrop,—who doubtless received his information from Verin himself,—thus records the episode:

But there stood up one Arnold, a witty man of their own company and withstood it, telling them that, when he consented to that order he never intended it should extend to the breach of any ordinance of God, such as the subjection of wives to their husbands, &c., and gave divers solid reasons against it. Then one Greene (who hath married the wife of one Beggerly, whose husband is living and no divorce, &c., but only it was said that he had lived in adultery and had confessed it) he replied that, if they should restrain their wives all the women in the country would cry out of them. Arnold answered him thus: "Did you pretend to leave the Massachusetts because you would not offend God to please men, and would you now break one ordinance and commandment of God to please women?" Some were of opinion that if Verin would not suffer his wife to have her liberty, the church should dispose of her to some other man, who would use her better. Arnold told them that it was not the woman's desire to go so oft from home, but only Mr. Williams and others. In conclusion, when they would have censured Verin, Arnold told them that it was against their own order; and their order was that no man should be censured for his conscience.[1]

The story of this affair, as told by Mr. Williams, differs widely, in its details, from its narration as recorded by Winthrop. In a letter to the governor, under date of May 22, 1638, Williams relates his version of the occurrence. Although the latter portion of the epistle alone is concerned with the Verin matter, the entire letter is here given, as illustrating admirably Mr. Williams' epistolary style:

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[1] Winthrop, i, 282, *et seq.*

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honoured Governer John Winthrop

Providence, the 22 of 3d mon [May 22, 1638]

Sir:—Blessed be the Father of Spirits, in whose hand our breath and ways are, that once more I may be bold to salute you and congratulate your return from the brink of the pit of rottonness.

What is man that thou shouldest visit him and try him? &., Job 7th. You are put off to this tempestuous sea again, more storms await you, the good Lord repair our leaks, freshen up the gales of his blessed Spirit, steady our course by the compass of his own truth, rescue us from all our spiritual adversaries, not only men, but fiends of war, and assure us of an harbor at last even the bosom of the Lord Jesus.

Sir, you have many an eye (I presume) lifted up to the hills of mercy for you; mine might seem superfluous; yet privately and publicly you have not been forgotten, and I hope shall not while these eyes have sight.

Sir, this last night Mr. Allen of Hartford, and Lieutenant Holmes lodged with me, and relate that Mr. Haynes or some chief resolved to be with you this week, so that you may please a little stop till their coming. Lieutenant Holmes relates that William Baker, who lay hid so long among the Mohegans and Pequots, for whom he gave bail, &c., was hid again the second time among the same by Uncas, but the Lieutenant, by a Providence, heard of him and returned him to Hartford, where he hath suffered for his much uncleanness by two several whippings. This fellow, notorious in villainy and strongly affected by those wretches, both studying revenge, is worthy to be watched even by the whole country and to be dispersed from the Pequots and they each from other, according as I have been bold to motion formerly.

Sir, we have been long afflicted by a young man boistrous and desperate, Philip Verins, son of Salem, who as he hath refused to hear the word with us (which we molested him not for) this

twelve month, so because he could not draw his wife, a gracious and modest woman, to the same ungodliness with him, he hath trodden her under foot tyranically and bruitishly; which she and we long bearing, though with his furious blows she went in danger of life, at the last the major vote of us discarded him from our civil freedom, or disfranchise, &c., he will have justice (as he clamors) at other courts: I wish he might, for a foul and slanderous and bruitish carriage, which God hath delivered him up unto; he will [haul] his wife with ropes to Salem, where she must needs be troubled and troublesome, as differences yet stand. She is willing to stay and live with him or elsewhere, where she may not offend, &c. I shall humbly request that this item be accepted, and he no way countenanced, until (if need be) I further trouble you: So with due respects to Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, &c., I rest,

Your Worship's unfeigned,

Roger Williams.[1]

The arguments of Arnold, and the protestations of Verin, did not avail, as this record shows:

The 21 die of the 3d Month [May, 1637]

It was agreed that Joshua Verin, upon the breach of a covenant for restraining of the libertie of conscience, shall be withheld from the libertie of voting till he shall declare the contrarie.[2]

This affair caused the first breach in the ranks of the colonists, for Verin, resenting the action of the meeting, abandoned the settlement and returned to Salem. It is easy to imagine the delight with which the opponents of Williams, in the Bay Colony, hailed the return of this man, as indicating to them a probability of the failure of Williams as a political leader of men.

Verin did not content himself with merely withdrawing

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[1] *Letters of Roger Williams*—Pub. Nar. Club, vi.

[2] Rhode Island Records, i, 16.

from Providence, and returning to Salem, but he sent back a demand for a recognition of his title to his share of the Providence lands. This was granted him; but it would appear from a later letter to Winthrop that Verin attempted to "get even" with the Providence colonists and especially with Williams.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

[Sept. or Oct., 1638]

Sir, I hear that two malicious persons, one I was bold to trouble your worship with not long since, Joshua Verin, and another yet with us, William Arnold, have most falsely and slanderously (as I hope it shall appear) complotted together (even as Gardener did against yourselves) many odious accusations in writing. It may be they may someway come to your loving hand, I presume the end is to render me odious both to the King's majesty as also to yourselves, I shall request humbly your wonted love and gentleness, (if it come to your worships' hand) to help me with the sight of it and I am confident yourself shall be the judge of the notorious wickedness and malicious falsehoods therein and that there hath not past ought from me, either concerning the maintaining of our liberties in this land, or any difference with yourselves which shall not manifest loyalty's reverence, modesty and tender affection,

The Lord Jesus, the Son of righteousness shine brightly and eternally on you and yours and all that seek him that was crucified. In him I ever desire to be,

Your Worship's most unfeigned,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Disaffections among the New England colonists were not, however, confined to the immediate followers of Williams. Notwithstanding his withdrawal from Salem, and the submission of that church to the authority of the magistracy of the colony, the effects of his teachings

still remained potent and the atmosphere of Salem was redolent with the odor of his memory. Some of his adherents, as we already know, followed, or accompanied, him to Providence. Others who remained behind retained some of the opinions which he had taught, to the manifest disquietude of others. Especially did these cling to the belief that it was improper, or "unlawful," for members of the Puritan congregations of New England, to attend upon the worship of the Church of England, upon occasions when they chanced to return to the mother country upon visits of business or pleasure. So ardent did the controversy become at length, that the church at Salem sent a deputation of two brethren, bearing a circular letter, addressed to the other churches of the Bay, asking their advice in the matter. The record made by Governor Winthrop, concerning this affair, is full of interest. On the twelfth day of April, 1636, the governor thus wrote:

The church of Salem was still infected with Mr. Williams his opinions, so as most of them held it unlawful to hear in the ordinary assemblies in England, because their foundation was anti-christian and we should, by hearing, hold communion with them; and some went so far as they were ready to separate from the church upon it. Whereupon the church sent two brethren and a letter to the elders of other churches, for their advice in three points:

1. Whether (for satisfying the weak) they might promise not to hear in England any false church. This was not thought safe, because then they would draw them to the like toward the other churches here, who were all of opinion that it was lawful and that hearing was not church communion.

2. If they were not better, to grant them dismission to be a church by themselves. This was also opposed, for that it was not a remedy of God's ordering; neither would the magistrates allow them to be a church, being but three men and eight women;

and besides it were dangerous to raise churches upon such grounds.

3. Whether they ought then to excommunicate them, if they did withdraw. This was granted, yet withal, that if they did not withdraw or run into contempt, they ought, in these matters of difference of opinion in things not fundamental nor scandalous, &c., to bear each with other.[1]

This affair, since it concerned matters neither "fundamental nor scandalous," appears to have gone no farther than this. But the people of the Bay were to hear still further of Mr. Williams. In March, 1637 Governor Winthrop made this entry:

While the General Court sate there came a letter directed to the court, from John Greene of Providence, who not long before had been imprisoned and fined for saying that the magistrates had usurped upon the power of Christ in his church, and had persecuted Mr. Williams and another, whom they had banished for disturbing the peace by divulging their opinions against the authority of the magistrates, &c., but upon his submission his fine was remitted; and now, by his letter, he retracted his former submission and charged the court as he had done before. Now because the court knew that divers others of Providence were of the same ill affection to the court, and were probably suspected to be confederate in the same letter, the court ordered that if any of that plantation were found within our jurisdiction, he should be brought before one of the magistrates and if he would not disclaim the charge in the said letter, he should be sent home and charged to come no more into this jurisdiction, upon pain of imprisonment and further censured.[2]

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[1]Winthrop, i, 185.

[2]Winthrop, i, 256.

CHAPTER XI

Fully three years before the settlement of Providence, the relations between the white settlers and the natives had become quite strained. In 1633 two traders named Stone and Norton, were murdered by members of the Pequod tribe, who inhabited the region between the two rivers now known as the Pawcatuck and the Thames. The Pequods were the most formidable tribe in New England, and the Narragansetts, a much weaker tribe, held them in awe. The murder of the traders became known to the Plymouth Colony, which sent the intelligence to the Bay. The murder of John Oldham by a party of Indians, on board his own boat, off Block Island, followed soon after.[1] It was evident that the Pequods were preparing for a general war of extermination against the whites, and that they were attempting to form an alliance with the Narragansetts was certain. The New England colonies were alarmed at the prospect and were especially desirous of preventing, if possible, the suggested alliance between these two tribes. There was no one among the colonists who was so highly regarded by the Narragansetts as Roger Williams, and no one whose advice they would be so likely to accept. A request therefore came to him from the Bay, that he would employ his good offices in the endeavor to induce the Narragansetts to turn aside the overtures of the Pequods for an offensive alliance against the whites.

Williams did not hesitate, but at once set out for the

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[1]Winthrop, i, 1689, 190; *et vide*, Bradford, 231, 232.

wigwam of Canonicus. It was a hazardous undertaking, made doubly so by the presence of the Pequod envoys, whom he found in consultation with the sachems of the Narragansetts. At the peril of his life he remained for several days, surrounded by Indians, sleeping among them at night, having no protection save the influence of the friendly disposition which he had maintained toward the natives, since his first coming among them. In his letter to Winthrop, written from Plymouth, we have seen that his great desire was to do good to "the natives' souls." We know that he had dwelt among them for the purpose of learning their language, while at Plymouth and at Salem. He had so far won their affections that he had received from the sachems as an earnest of their good-will, the gift of a large tract of land, at the head waters of the Narragansett Bay. That which he now asked of them was, perhaps, the greatest possible test of their friendly disposition; and there can be no higher evidence of his winning manner and sweet spirit,—of his "many precious parts,"—than the record of his success in this perilous undertaking.

Sixteen years later, in the year 1654, addressing the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, upon a matter of public concern, Mr. Williams wrote:

ROGER WILLIAMS TO THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

* * * * * *

I remember that upon the express advice of your ever honored Mr. Winthrop, deceased, I first adventured to begin a plantation among the thickest of these barbarians. That in the Pequot war it pleased your honored government to employ me in the hazardous and weighty service of negotiating a league between yourselves and the Narragansetts when the Pequot messengers, who

sought the Narragansetts league against the English, had almost ended that my work and life together.

That at the subscribing of that solemn league, which by the mercy of the Lord, I had procured with the Narragansetts, your government was pleased to send unto me the copy of it, subscribed by all hands there, which yet I keep as a monument and a testimony of peace and faithfulness between you both.[1]

This was not the only instance in which the Bay Colony made application to Mr. Williams to employ his good offices in influence with his Indian friends, during this critical time in the history of the New England colonies. Governor Winthrop in the same year makes this record:—

1638, Mo. 6, 3—Janemoh, the sachem of Niantic, had gone to Long Island and rifled some of those Indians which were tributaries to us. The sachem complained to our friends of Conneticut, who wrote us about it, and sent Capt. Mason, with seven men, to require satisfaction. The governour of the Massachusetts wrote also to Mr. Williams to treat with Miantunnomoh about satisfaction or otherwise bid them look for war.[2]

The letter of Williams, written to Major Mason, in the year 1670,—which has already more than once been quoted,—gives, in a somewhat egotistical tone, the story of his intervention, to avert an alliance between the Pequods and the Narragansetts.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO MAJOR MASON.

Providence, June 22, 1670 (*ut vulgo*).

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When the next year after my banishment, the Lord drew the bow of the Pequod war against the country, in which Sir, the Lord made yourself, with others, a blessed instrument of peace to all New England, I had my share of service to the whole land

[1]Plymouth Colony Records, x, 438; R. I. Col. Rec. i, 291; Pubs. Nar. Club, vi, 269.

[2]Winthrop, i, 267.

in that Pequod business, inferior to very few that acted, for,

1. Upon letters received from the Governor and council at Boston, requesting me to use my utmost and speediest endeavors to break and hinder the league labored for by the Pequods against the Mohegans, and Pequods against the English, (excusing the not sending of company and supplies, by the haste of the business,) the Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself, all alone, in a poor canoe and to cut through a stormy wind, with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the Sachem's house.

2. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequod ambassadors, whose hands and arms, methought, wreaked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut river, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also,

3. When God wondrously preserved me, and helped me to break to pieces the Pequods negotiation and design, and to make and promote and finish, by many travels and charges, the English league with the Narragansetts and Mohegans against the Pequods, and that the English forces marched up to the Narragansett country against the Pequods, I gladly entertained at my house in Providence, the General Stoughton and his officers and used my utmost care that all his officers and soldiers should be well accommodated with us.

4. I marched up with them to the Narragansett Sachems, and brought my countrymen and the barbarians, Sachems and captains, to a mutual confidence and complacence each in other.

5. Though I was ready to have marched further, yet upon agreement that I should keep at Providence, as an agent between the Bay and the army, I returned and was interpreter and intelligencer constantly receiving and sending letters to the Governor and Council at Boston, &c., in which work I judge it no impertinent discussion to recite, (out of the many scores of letters, at times, from Mr. Winthrop) this one pious and

heavenly prophecy, touching all New England, of that gallant man, viz: "If the Lord turn away his face from our sins, and bless our endeavors and yours, at this time against our bloody enemy, we and our children shall long enjoy peace, in this our wilderness condition." And himself and some other of the Council motioned and it was debated, whether or no I had not merited, not only to be recalled from banishment, but also to be honored with some mark of favor. It is known who hindered, who never promoted the liberty of other men's consciences. These things and ten times more, I could relate, to show that I am not a stranger to the Pequod wars and lands, and possibly not far from the merit of a foot of land in either country, which I have not.[1]

* * * * * * *

Roger Williams.

Aside from this statement of Roger Williams himself, there is ample evidence in the letters themselves, some of which are extant, of his excellent services as "intelligencer," during the continuance of the troubles with the Pequods. Governor Winthrop also makes frequent mention of letters received from Williams, during this trying period, which conveyed to the Bay, information of the greatest value in the conduct of the war.[2] One of the most important of these gave information as to the whereabouts of the Pequod forces.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop.

For his much honored Mr. Governor. and Mr. Winthrop, *Deputy Governor of the Maffachufetts, thefe.*

New Providence, this 2d of the week. [May, 1637.]

Sir,—The latter end of the laft week I gave notice to our neighbor princes of your intentions and preparations againft the

[1]Mass. Hist, Soc. Coll. i, 275; Pub. Nar. Club, vi, 333.
[2]Winthrop, i, 190, 191, 193, 196, 199, 223, 225, 226.

common enemy, the Pequods. At my firft coming to them Canonicus (*morofus æque ac barbarex fenex*) was very four, and accufed the Englifh and myfelf for fending the plague amongft them, and threatening to kill him efpecially.

Such tidings (it feems) were lately brought to his ears by fome of his flatterers and our ill-williers. I difcerned caufe of beftirring myfelf, and ftaid the longer, and at laft (through the mercy of the most High) I not only fweetened his fpirit, but poffeffed him, that the plague and other ficknefſes were alone in the hand of the one God, who made him and us, who being difpleafed with the Englifh for lying, ftealing, idlenefs and uncleannefs, (the natives' epidemical fins,) fmote many thoufands of ourfelves with general and late mortalities.

Miantunnomu kept his barbarous court lately at my houfe, and with him I have far better dealing. He takes fome pleafure to vifit me, and fent me word of his coming over again fome eight days hence.

They paſs not a week without fome fkirmifhings, though hitherto little lofs on either fide. They were glad of your preparations, and in much conference with themselves and others, (fifting de induftria for inftructions from them,) I gathered thefe obfervations, which you may pleafe (as caufe may be) to confider and take notice of:

1. They conceive that to do execution to purpofe on the Pequods, will require not two or three days and away, but a riding by it and following of the work to and again the fpace of three weeks or a month, that there be a falling off and a retreat, as if you were departed, and a falling on again within three or four days, when they are returned again to their houfes fecurely from their flight.

2. That if any pinnaces come in ken, they prefently prepare for flight, women and old men and children, to a fwamp fome three or four miles on the back of them, a marvellous great and fecure fwamp, which they called Ohomowauke, which fignifies owl's neft, and by another name, Cuppocommock, which fignifies a refuge or hiding place, as I conceive.

3. That therefore Nayantaquit, (which is Miantunnomue's

place of rendezvous,) to be thought on for the riding and retiring to of veffel or veffels, which place is faithful to the Narraganfetts and at present enmity with the Pequods.

4. They alfo conceive it eafy for the English, that the provifions and munitions firft arrive at Aquedneck, called by us Rhode Ifland, at the Narraganfet's mouth, and then a meffenger may be defpatched hither, and fo to the bay, for the foldiers to march up by land to the veffels, who otherwise might fpend long time about the cape and fill more veffels than needs.

5. That the affault would be in the night, when they are commonly more fecure and at home, by which advantage the Englifh, being armed, may enter the houfes and do what execution they pleafe.

6. That before the affault be given, an ambufh be laid behind them, between them and the fwamp, to prevent their flight, &c.

7. That to that purpofe fuch guides as fhall be beft liked of to be taken along to direct, efpecially two Pequots, viz.: Wequafh and Wuttackquickommin, valiant men, efpecially the latter, who have lived thefe three or four years with the Narraganfetts, and know every pafs and paffage amongft them, who defire armour to enter their houfes.

8. That it would be pleafing to all natives, that women and children be fpared, &c.

9. That if there be any more land travel to Connecticut, fome courfe would alfo be taken with the Wunhowatuckoogs, who are confederates with and a refuge to the Pequods.

Sir, if any thing be fent to the princes, I find that Canonicus would gladly accept of a box of eight or ten pounds of sugar, and indeed he told me he would thank Mr. Governor for a box full.

Sir, you may pleafe to take notice of a rude view, how the Pequods lie:

65

River Connecticut.

O *a fort of the Nayantic men, confederate with the Pequods*

Mohigadic

River.

Wein O *shauks, where Ohom | | owauke, the swamp*
Sassaeus the chief Sachem is. three or four miles from–
Mis O *tick, where is Mamobo, another chief sachim.*

River.

Nayantic, O *where is Wepiteammock and our friends.*

River.

Thus, with my beft falutes to your worthy felves and loving friends with you, and daily cries to the Father of mercies for a merciful iffue to all thefe enterprifes, I reft

Your worfhip's unfeignedly refpective

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Not only did the persuasions of Williams induce the Narragansetts to refrain from forming an alliance with the Pequods, but he succeeded also, as we have already learned, in committing the former to a friendship with the Bay people, and a continued hostility to their old enemies, the Pequods. In the summer of 1637 a party of Narragansetts succeeded in overpowering a company of Pequods and killed three. Following their barbarous habit a hand of each was cut off and the three hideous trophies were sent to Boston. One of those who fell was the leader of the party of Pequods who murdered Stone and Norton, four years before.[1] This circumstance came to

[1] *Vide*, Winthrop, i, 237.

the knowledge of Williams, and he wrote to Winthrop, deprecating the mutilation of the dead, but explaining that he had suffered the hands to be sent, lest he should, by objecting, incur the suspicion, on the part of the natives, of a feeling on his side, of superiority over them, and thus weaken his influence over them.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honored John Winthrop, Governor of the Maſſachuſetts.

MUCH HONORED SIR,—I was fearful that thoſe dead hands were no pleaſing ſight (otherwiſe than a remarkable vengeance had ſeized upon the firſt murderer of the Engliſh, Wauphanck,) yet I was willing to permit what I could not approve, leaſt if I had buried the preſent myſelf, I ſhould have incurred ſuſpicion of pride and wronged my betters, in the natives and others eyes: I have always ſhown diſlike to ſuch diſmembering the dead, and now the more, (according to your deſire) in your name.

I was alſo fearful that mine own hand (having no commiſſion from my heart) which is not in mine hand (but in the hand of its Maker, the Most High) to write you ought of mine own return in ſpirituals, I ſay fearful that mine own might not be ſo grateful and pleaſing to you: but being called upon by your meſſage and your love, (your paper), I am emboldened.

Concerning the Pequots, the ſoldiers here related to me that Uncas the Mohiganie Sachem had about three hundred men with him on the Pequod river, ſome sixteen miles from the houſe, which I believe are most of them Pequods and their confederates the Wunnaſhowatuckoogs and their Inlanders (whom he charged under pain of death not to come to Canonicus) and with whom he hath made himſelf great. This man is but a little Sachem, and hath not above forty or fifty Mohigans, which as the Engliſh told me were all he could make.

It is generally confirmed that Thomas Stanton, (as himſelf alſo confeſſed to me at my houſe) was groſſly couſened and

deluded by one Wequafhcuck (a Nayantaquit Sachem) who fheltered four Pequod Sachems and fifty Pequods at Long Iſland, where now they are, where peace was made with promiſe from the natives to permit one Pequot; yet Wequafhcuck marrying Saſſacous his mother hath thus deceived you. This Wequafhcuck was the man (to my knowledge) that fheltered Audfah, the murderer of Mr. Oldham, and kept his head ſo upon his fhoulders: yet to this man Thomas Stanton (as it appears) did too much liſten, flighting I fear, too much the Narraganſſetts.

I find our Neighbors very eager to purſue theſe four Sachems and the fifty Pequods there, I preſſed them to patience till Mr. Governor's mind be known, and Miantunnomu (to my knowledge) doth all he can to reſtrain them, or elſe long ſince they had been there. They plead that Mr. Governor may pleaſe to accompany, or ſend himſelf againſt them, but cannot by any article in the league bind them to ſuffer ſo many of their enemies in a knot ſo neare them.

I preſſ them to humane conſideration of ſo much blood ſpilt, they anſwer if they have the Sachems heads they will make the reſt Narraganſetts, and for the Long Iſlanders themselves and Wequafhcuck, they will not meddle with them, becauſe of the peace Mr. Stoughton made with them.

Concerning the kettles: Miantunnomu anſwers, that he hath been much wronged by the reports of enemies and falſe friends to whom ſome of us (as he faith) hath harkened before himſelf.

He faith he never knew of more than two, one of which the Engliſh uſed at the houſe, and the other as he hears is at the Fort ſtill: he ſaith, he hath many of his own, and indeed when I came firſt hither I ſaw near ten of twelve which himſelf or Canonicus had.

He repaid me with a grievance about a Pequod canoe which he deſired might be ordered by your own hearing, but it was denied him: his plea ſeems very fair: thus this brother Yoteaſh having taken the great Sachem (Puttaquappuonckquame who was kept in the pinnace alive ſometime) took his canoe, which, ſaith he, the Engliſh Captains fitting all together were very willing unto: this canoe Mr. Stoughton afterwards brought

about homeward: Miantunnomu and his brother claim it: 'twas denied: he requefted that it might be left at my houfe till Mr. Governor's mind was known. Capt. Stoughton would not yield, but desired him to go along to me, but faith he, I would not truft myself with him, feeing he would not ftand to Mr. Governor's determination about the canoe: I would not have mentioned this leaft it might provoke Mr. Stoughton or any: but I know to whom I intimate it: and I have pretty well appeafed the matter already.

He anfwers, all I can object to him with this: let Mr. Governor have the hearing of it: I will reft in his word, and objecting to him in the particular before divers, that the Englifh complain he was proud, he defired that I would prefent to Mr. Governor thefe particulars, that he had cause to maintain his right, becaufe the Connecticut Englifh equalled Uncas and the Mohigans with himfelf and his men.

Whereas faith he, thefe Mohigans are but a twig, we are as a great tree.

They fell to the Englifh but laft year, we have been ever friends, &c.

Uncas and his men had a hand in the death of all the Englifh and fought againft the Rivers mouth (at Connecticut) we never killed nor confented to the death of an Englifh man.

When the Dutchmen and we fought with the Pequods the Mohigans joined against us.

When Capt. Endicott came againft the Pequoids the Mohigans received the Pequod women and children and kept them, while the men fought with him, &c.

Uncas brought prefents to Canonicus, and Miantunnomu, yet at the same time killed two of his women treacheroufly.

They fell to the Englifh this year in fear of other policy, and we, (faith he) have continued friendfhip and love ever fince they landed. Thus he pleaded, &c., and yet proud and covetous and filthy they are, &c., only I was willing to gratify him in this, becaufe as I know your own heart ftudies peace, and their foul's good, fo your wifdom may make ufe of it unto others

who happily take ſome pleaſure in wars: The bleſſed God of Peace be pleaſed to give you peace within, at home, and round about you abroad So prays

Your worſhip's unfeignedly reſpective

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, &c., all reſpective ſalutations.

I have at preſent returned Richard Collicut's Pequod girl, which Miantunnomu found out, and deſired me to ſend home with promiſe of further enquiring.

The statement of Williams, in his letter to the General Court, that a copy of the league with the Narragansetts was sent to him by the government of the Bay, is corroborated by Winthrop; but yet, it would appear that this copy was sent, not so much in compliment to Williams, and in recognition of the important part which he had played, as that he might interpret its contents to the sachems, to whom Winthrop had not been able to explain its exact meaning. Governor Winthrop's record follows:—

1636, 8 ber, 21.—Miantunnomoh the sachem of the Narragansett (being sent for by the Governour) came to Boston with two of Canonicus's sons and another sachem and near twenty sanaps. Cutshamakin gave us notice the day before. The governour sent twenty musketeers to meet him at Roxbury. He came to Boston about noon. The governour had called together most of the magistrates and ministers to give countenance to our proceedings and to advise with them about the terms of peace. It was dinner time and the sachems and their council dined by themselves in the same room where the governour dined, and their sanaps were sent to the inn. After dinner Miantunnomoh declared what he had to say to us in [blank] propositions which were to this effect: That they had always loved the English and desired firm peace with us; that they would continue in

war with the Pequods and their confederates, till they were subdued; and desired we should do so: They would deliver our enemies to us or kill them. That if any of theirs should kill our cattle, that we would not kill them, but cause them to make satisfaction: That they would now make a firm peace and two months hence they would send us a present.

The governour told them they should have answer the next morning.

In the morning we met again and concluded the peace upon the articles underwritten, which the governour subscribed and they also subscribed with their marks and Cutshamakin also. But because we could not well make them understand the articles perfectly we agreed to send a copy of them to Mr. Williams who could best interpret them to them. So after dinner they took leave and were conveyed out of town by some musketeers and dismissed with a volley of shot.

THE ARTICLES.

1. A firm peace between us and our friends of other plantations, (if they consent) and their confederates, (if they will observe the articles, &c.) and our posterities.
2. Neither party to make peace with the Pequods without the other's consent.
3. Not to harbor, &c., the Pequods; &c.
4. To put to death or deliver over murderers, &c.
5. To return our fugitive servants, &c.
6. We to give them notice when we go against the Pequods and they to send us some guides.
7. Free trade between us.
8. None of them to come near our plantations during the wars with the Pequods, without some Englishman or known Indian.
9. To continue to the posterity of both parties.[1]

The Pequods, chagrined at their lack of success in turn-

[1]Winthrop, i, 255.

ing the Narragansetts against their white friends, prophesied to them that they would yet find the English to be treacherous and not their friends. Not long after, a circumstance occurred which at first seemed to give a color to this opinion. Four young men of the Bay, from the serving class, left the settlement with the intent of going to the Dutch plantation at Manhattoes. Midway between the Boston and the Narragansett country, they sat down to rest and to smoke. While thus engaged, a Narragansett Indian passed by, whom they called and invited to stop and smoke with them. The Indian incautiously accepted the invitation. The party of whites, seeing that their visitor, who was a trader, had with him a large quantity of wampum, besides cloth and beads, murderously attacked him and, after robbing him, left him for dead. The Indian, who was mortally wounded, revived sufficiently to drag himself home, where he died of his hurts.

His friends lying in wait for the murderers, captured three of them and delivered them to the authorities at Aquineck, where they were formally accused of robbery and murder.

Let us read Bradford's quaint account of the sequel:—

The Indians sent for Mr. Williams & made a greevous complainte; his friends and kinred were ready to rise in armes and provock the rest thereunto, some conceiving they should now find ye Pequents words trew: that ye English would fall upon them. But Mr. Williams pacified them, & tould them they should see justice done upon ye offenders; & wente to ye man & tooke Mr. James a phisition with him. The man tould him who did it and in what maner it was done; but ye phisition found his wounds mortall, and that he could not live, (as he after testified upon othe, before ye jurie in oppen courte) and so he dyed shortly after, as both Mr. Williams, Mr. James & some Indeans

testified in courte. The Govrt in ye Bay were aquented with it, but refferred it hither, because it was done in this jurisdiction; but pressed by all means yt justice might be done in it, or els ye countrie must rise and see justice done, otherwise it would raise a warr. Yet some of ye rude & ignorant sort murmured that any English should be put to death for ye Indeans. So at last they of ye iland brought them hither, and being often examened, and ye evidence produsd, they all in the end freely confessed in effect all yt the Indean accused them of, & that they had done it in ye maner afforesaid; and so, upon ye forementioned evidence, were, cast by ye jurie, & condemned, & executed for the same. And some of ye Narigansett Indeans, & of ye parties freinds, were presente when it was done, which gave them & all ye countrie good satisfaction.[1]

[1]Bradford, 434, *et seq*; *et vide* Winthrop, i, 267, *et seq*.

CHAPTER XII

We find Roger Williams, a year or more after his settlement at Providence, for the first time,—so far as we have any knowledge,—becoming interested in the theological tenets of the Anabaptists. Allusion has been made to some excesses and extravagancies of this sect, in the early portion of their history. These had been eliminated, in the century which had passed; and their belief in the invalidity of infant baptism was now the remnant of their creed which survived, and which many of the Separatists had embraced. There is no evidence that Williams, in England, in Boston, in Plymouth, or in Salem, had ever seriously examined these tenets. A year or two after his settlement at Providence, however, they seem to have been brought to his attention and consideration, by Mrs. Scott, a sister of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, the leader of the famous antinomian controversy. And now comes into the narrative a singular character, who for a moment appears, and as quickly disappears. The records of the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, under the date of the twelfth day of the first month, 1637-8 show this entry:

> Ezechiell Holliman appearing upon summons, because hee did not frequent the publike assemblyes & for seduceing many, hee was referd by the Court to the ministers for conviction.[1]

From this entry it would appear that the Puritan theocracy in New England was disposed to adopt and enforce some, at least, of the provisions of the Act of Uni-

[1] *Records of Massachusetts Bay*, i, 221.

formity of Elizabeth. Holliman, who was a man in humble walks of life in Salem, seems to have resented the action of the General Court and, probably without waiting for the impending action of the ministers in his case, became a voluntary exile from the colony and repaired to Providence Plantations. That this removal was immediate is made certain from a record made by Governor Winthrop, in the same month and year in which the action of the General Court was taken. By this it appears that Holliman, at once, upon his arrival joined with Mrs. Scott in impressing upon Williams the doctrines embodied in the tenets of the Anabaptists, and especially that sentiment which discarded a belief in the validity of infant baptism. Winthrop's record is of deep interest, as showing that Williams now yielded to the arguments and persuasions of Mrs. Scott and of Holliman, and committed himself fully, for the time being, to their tenets. Thus Governor Winthrop writes:

1638, Mo. 1, 16.—At Providence things grew still worse; for a sister of Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of one Scott, being infected with Anabaptistry and going last year to live at Providence, Mr. Williams was taken (or rather emboldened) by her to make open profession thereof, and accordingly was rebaptised by one Holyman, a poor man, late of Salem. Then Mr. Williams rebaptized him and some ten more. They also denied the baptizing of infants and would have no magistrates.[1]

It is to be noted that, in none of the large number of the letters extant of Roger Williams, is mentioned the name of Holliman. Neither does it appear in this record of Winthrop, nor in similar records made by Morton, in his *New England's Memorial*, Hubbard in his *History*, or Mather, in his *Magnalia*, by what mode Holliman and

[1]Winthrop, i, 293.

THE ABBOTT HOUSE AT PROVIDENCE, R. I.
In this house Williams occasionally preached and held prayer meetings

Williams performed these re-baptisms. There is some evidence, however that the practice of baptism by immersion, as a newly adopted mode, was presented to Mr. Williams's attention as a matter of interest, fully eleven years after his baptism by Holliman. In November, 1649, he thus wrote to Winthrop:

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

* * * * *

At Seekonk a great many have lately concurred with Mr. John Clarke and our Providence men about the point of a new Baptism and the manner by dipping: and Mr. John Clarke had been there lately (and Mr. Lucor) and hath dipped them. I believe their practice comes nearer the first practice of our great Founder Christ Jesus, then other practices of our religion do, and yet I have not satisfaction, neither in the authority by which it is done, nor in the manner; nor in the prophesies concerning the rising of Christ's Kingdom after the desolations by Rome.[1]

* * * * *

From this letter it must be understood that Williams, at the time at which it was written, still retained a belief in the non-efficacy of infant baptism—the leading tenet of the Anabaptists of that age,—but could not recognize the authority of any person to administer the ordinance, nor could he favor the mode of immersion, which some of the sect had, by that time, adopted.

For the sequence to this new departure of Williams we are forced again to search the records of the Massachusetts historians and annalists. Winthrop, whose record was contemporaneous, but who must have recieved his information at second-hand, thus relates it:

1639. 5 Mo. [July].—At Providence matters went after the old manner. Mr. Williams and many of his company, a few

[1]Pubs. Nar. Club. vi. 188.

months since, were in all haste re-baptized, and denied communion with all others, and now he was come to question his second baptism, not being able to derive the authority of it from the apostles, otherwise than by the ministers of England (whom he judged to be ill authority) so as he conceived God would rise up some apostolick power, therefore he bent himself that way, expecting, (as was supposed) to become an apostle; and having, a little before, refused communion with all, save his own wife, now he would preach to and pray with all comers. Whereupon some of his followers left him and returned back from whence they went.[1]

Cotton Mather explains the matter, and the position assumed by Williams more clearly, although at greater length:

Upon the sentence of the court, Mr. Williams with his party going abroad, (as one says) to "seek their providences," removed into the southern parts of New England, where he, with a few of his own sect, settled a place called Providence. There they proceeded not only unto the gathering of a thing like a church, but unto the renouncing of their infant baptism; and at this further step of separation they stopped not, but Mr. Williams quickly told them "that being himself misled; he had led them likewise out of the way;" he was now satisfied that there was none upon earth that could administer baptism, and so that their late baptism, as well as their first, was a nullity, for the want of a called administration; he advised them therefore to forego all, to dislike everything and wait for the coming of new apostles; whereupon they dissolved themselves and became that sort of sect which we term *seekers*, keeping to that one principle "that everyone should have the liberty to worship God according to the light of his own conscience;" but owning of no true churches or ordinances now in the world.[2]

Within the brief space of a few weeks, therefore, we

[1] Winthrop, i, 307.

[2] *Magnalia Christi Americana*, ii, 498.

find that Roger Williams, urged by Mrs. Scott and Holliman, had embraced the doctrines of the Anabaptists; discarded, or repudiated as invalid, the baptism received from the English church in infancy; accepted a new baptism at the hands of Holliman—himself unbaptized—; repudiated, in turn, this re-baptism; and adopted the curious belief, that, whereas Christ did not transmit to his apostles, with their authority to baptize, the authority to transmit that authority in turn to others, therefore there is in the world to-day no valid baptism. Yet, although deserted by Roger Williams, whom they, no doubt, hoped would have been their life-long leader, the little cluster of Anabaptists, who then formed themselves into a church, increased and multiplied upon their foundation. Upon this foundation, thus established, stands today the First Baptist Church, of Providence, which is the first Baptist church of America.

This episode, for it seems to have been little more than an episode in the life of Roger Williams, does not appear to have occupied his mind, to the exclusion of other, and to him more important, controversial points. Soon after the departure of Williams from Salem, a controversy in writing sprang up between him and his old antagonist, John Cotton. The subject matter of the correspondence was mainly the contention of Williams, that it was a sinful thing for the members of the New England churches to hold communion with, or attend upon the services of, the churches of the Establishment, upon occasions when they might chance to be in England, upon more or less extended visits. In other words, it was a reiteration of the arguments respectively of the Puritan non-conformists and of the Separatists, and was probably an expansion of the discussion of years before, during the ride of Williams, Cotton and Hooker, to Sempringham. The opening

letters of this correspondence are not preserved, but it is believed that it was begun by John Cotton, in the endeavor to convince Williams that his contentions with the Massachusetts colonists were builded upon "sandie" foundations.

In the year 1643, there appeared in print in London, a letter of Cotton addressed to Williams, after the method of the pamphleteers. Williams was now in London, sent over as an agent of the new colony to endeavor to procure a royal charter. This letter as before shown, dealt especially with the contentions of the two concerning the question of communion or intercourse with the English church. It is evident, however, that in a letter which had previously passed from Williams to Cotton, the writer had charged upon his correspondent an especial personal responsibility for his banishment. Mr. Cotton departs from the line of his argument sufficiently to endeavor to refute this charge.

"Let not any prejudice against my person, (I beseech you)" writes John Cotton, "forestall either your affection or judgement, as if I had hastened forward the sentence of your civill banishment; for what was done by the magistrates in that kinde, was neither done by my counsell nor consent, although I dare not deny the sentence passed to be righteous in the eyes of God, who hath said that he that with-holdeth the Corne (which is the staffe of life) from the people, the multitude shall curse him. *Prov.* 11, 26, how much more shall they separate such from them as doe withhold and separate them from the Ordinances, or the Ordinances from them (which are in Christ the bread of life) And yet it may be they passed that sentence against you not upon that ground, but for aught I know, upon your other corrupt doctrines, which tend to the disturbance both of civill and holy peace, as may appeare by that answer which was sent to the Brethren of the Church of Salem and to your selfe. And to speake freely what I thinke, were my soul in your souls stead,

I should thinke it a worke of mercy of God to banish me from the civill Society of such a Commonwealth when I could not injoy holy fellowship with any church of God amongst them without sin. What should the daughter of Zion doe in Babell? Why should she not hasten to flee from thence? *Zach.* 2, 6, 70.[1]

To this letter Mr. Williams made an early reply, which was published in London, in the year following the publication of the letter of Cotton. In this reply Williams, in a prefatory note addressed "To the Impartiall Reader," gives a resumé of the correspondence which had preceded. In this he asserts that Mr. Cotton claims to have protested, "both in speech and writing," that he was no procurer of the sorrows of Mr. Williams. To this protestation Williams had made reply that if he "had perished in that sorrowful winter's flight, only the blood of Jesus Christ could have washed" Mr. Cotton from the guilt of his death. To this Mr. Cotton had rejoined: "Had you perished, your blood had beene on your owne head; it was your sinne to procure it, and your sorrow to suffer it."

At this point the correspondence appears to have ceased, to be reopened later, after the appearance in print of the letter of Mr. Cotton, as already narrated. Mr. Williams' reply was written in England, during the visit which was made for the purpose of procuring a charter for the colony, as already explained. In this epistle he takes up the points of Mr. Cotton's letter seriatim, and replies to them in true controversial style. In this he likewise refers to his banishment and its causes, in these words:

But because the Reader may aske both Mr. Cotton and me, what were the grounds of such a sentence of Banishment against

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[1]Publications of Narragansett Club, i, 13.

me, which are here called sandie, I shall relate in brief what those grounds were, some whereof he is pleased to discusse in this letter and others of them not to mention.

After my publike triall and answers at the generall Court, one of the most eminent magistrates (whose name and speech may by others be remembered) stood up and spake:

"Mr. Williams," (said he) "holds forth these 4 particulars:

"First. That we have not our land by Pattent from the King, but that the natives are the true owners of it, and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by Pattent.

"Secondly. That it is not lawfull to call a wicked person to Sweare, to Pray, as being actions of God's worship.

"Thirdly. That it is not lawfull to heare any of the ministers of the Parish Assemblies in England.

"Fourthly. That the Civill Magistrates power extends only to the Bodies and Goods and outward state of men, &c."

I acknowledge the particulars were rightly summ'd up and I also hope that, as I then maintained the Rockie strength of them to my own & other consciences satisfaction so (through the Lord's assistance) I shall be ready for the same grounds, not only to be bound and banished, but to die also, in New England, as for most holy Truths of God in Jesus Christ.[1]

This reply of Williams was followed by a rejoinder by Cotton, published under the title: *A Reply to Mr. Williams his Examination and Answer of the Letters sent to him by John Cotton.* In this rejoinder Cotton makes a still wider departure than did Williams, from the main topic of his discourse, and gives reply at considerable length, and with no little warmth, to those statements of Williams concerning the causes of his banishment. With great vigor Cotton assails the position of Williams, that it was sinful for the members of the New England churches to attend upon divine worship in the churches of the

[1]Pub. of Nar. Club. i, 40.

English Establishment; and he maintains by argument the attitude assumed by Higginson, as he stood upon the prow of the vessel which was bearing him to the New World and its possibilities, and saw the shores of England recede from his view. Diverging from this argument he assails the statements made by his antagonist concerning his banishment, and the circumstances which led up to it, in these words:

It was not my intent in that Letter which he examineth, to discusse the grounds of his Civill Banishment at all, neither did I discusse one or other of them. And it is a preposterous shifting of the State of the Question, to put it upon me to give account of the causes of his Banishment, who neither did banish him, nor provoked the Court to banish him out of the Countrey. The Magistrates and Deputies of the Common-wealth (who were then the Members of that Court) are all of them of age, and able themselves to give account of their own actions. To them or some of them he should in reason have addressed himselfe for satisfaction in this case (if any were due) and not to me, who am seldome present at any Civill Court, (if not more seldome) then any man of our calling in Towne of Countrey, where the Courts are kept. It were more than Ægyptian bondage to me, and more than Pharaonicall tyranny in him, to exact of me, an account of all the capitall, or notable sentences of Judgement, which passe in all the Civill Courts of Justice in the Countrey, unlesse I had a calling to sit amongst them.

But why did I then endeavour in my Letter to shew him the sandiness of those grounds upon which he had banished himselfe, &c. If I did not meane to declare and discuss the causes of his banishment.

He doth very well and wisely to expresse the Ground upon which I said he banished himself with an &c. For he knows that if I had related my whole sentence in my own words, he had cut himselfe from all opportunitie of pleading with me the causes of his Civill Banishment.

My words are plaine,—I endeavour to shew you the sandiness

of those grounds, upon which you have banished your selfe from the fellowship of all the churches in these Countreyes.

It is one thing to banish ones selfe (or to be banished) out of the fellowship of all the churches in the Countrey; another thing to banish ones selfe (or to be banished) out of the Countrey. There be at this day that banish (and separate) themselves from all the Churches in the Countrey, and yet are not banished out of the Countrey: and there be that are banished out of the Countrey, and yet are not banished out of the fellowship of all the Churches in the Countrey. Himselfe hath separated (and so banished himselfe) from the fellowship of all the Churches in the world: and yet he hath not banished himselfe out of the world.

But though it be impertinent to my letter to discusse the grounds of his Civill Bannishment; yet since he is pleased (by hook or crook) to draw it in, I referre the Reader for Answer to a full Treatise of that Argument, penned by a reverend faithfull Brother, (the Teacher of the Church at Rocksbury;)[1] and withall as I have touched somewhat of it above in Answer to his Preface, so I shall speak a word or two more unto it here.

Whom that Eminent Magistrate was, that so summed up the grounds of Mr. Williams his Bannishment in those foure particulars above mentioned Mr. Williams doth wisely conceale his name, lest if he evere named, he should be occasioned to beare witnesse against such fraudulent expression of the particulars; whereof some were no causes of his Banishment at all, and such as were causes, were not delivered in such generall Tearmes. For *in universalibus latet Dolus.* It is evident the two latter causes which he giveth of his Banishment were no causes at all, as he expresseth them. There are many knowne to hold both these Opinions. *That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Ministers of the Parish Assemblies in England,* and *that the Civill Magistrates power Extends only to the bodies, and goods, and outward Estates of Men;* and yet they are tolerated

[1]The reference is, beyond doubt, to Rev. John Eliot, although no such treatise from his pen is now extant.

not only to live in the Commonwealth, but also in the fellowship of the Churches.

The two former, though they be not so much noysed, yet there be many, if not most, that hold, *That we have not our Land, meerly by right of Patent from the King, but that the Natives are true owners of all that they possesse, or improve.* Neither doe I know any amongst us, that either then were, or now are of another minde.

And as for the other Point; *That it is not lawful to call a Wicked Person to sweare, or pray.*

Though that be not commonly held, yet it is knowne to be held of some, who yet are tolerated to enjoy both Civill, and Church liberties amongst us.

To come therefore to Particulars; Two things there were, which (to my best observation and remembrance) caused the sentence of his Banishment; and two other fell in, that hastened it.

1. His violent and tumultuous carriage against the Patent.

By the Patent it is, that we receved allowance from the King to depart his Kingdome, and to carry our goods with us,without offence to his Officers, and without paying custome to himselfe.

By the Patent, certain select men (as Magistrates and Freemen) have power to make Lawes, and the Magistrates to execute Justice, and Judgement amongst the People, according to such Lawes.

By the Patent we have Power to erect such a Government of the Church, as is most agreeable to the Word, to the estate of the People, and to the gaining of Natives (in God's time) first to Civility and then to Christianity.

To this Authority established by this Patent, English-men doe readily submit themselves; and foraine Plantations (the French, the Dutch, and Swedish) doe willingly transact their negotiations with us, as with a Colony established by the Royall Authority of the State of England.

This Patent Mr. Williams publickly and vehemently preached against, as containing matter of falshood, and injustice: Falshood in making the King the first Christian Prince who discovered these parts—and injustice in giving the Countrey to his

English Subjects, which belonged to the Native Indians. This therefore he pressed upon the Magistrates and people, to be humbled for from time to time in dayes of solemne Humiliation; and to returne the Patent back againe to the King. It was answered to him, first, That it was neither the King's intendement nor the English Planters to take possession of the Countrey by murther of the Natives, or by robbery; but either to take possession of the voyd places of the Countrey by the Law of Nature, (for *Vacuum Domicilium cedit occupanti*:) or if we tooke any Lands from the Natives, it was by way of purchase, and free consent.

A little before our coming, God had by pestilence, and other contageous diseases, swept away many thousands of the Natives, who had inhabited the Bay of Massachusets, for which the Patent was granted. Such few of them as survived were glad of the coming of the English, who might preserve them from the oppression of the Naharganset. For it is the manner of the Natives, the stronger Nations to oppresse the weaker.

This answer did not satisfie Mr. Williams, who pleaded the Natives, though they did not, nor could subdue the Countrey. (but left it *vacuum Domicilium*) yet they hunted all the countrey over, and for the expedition of their hunting voyages, they burnt up all the underwoods in the Countrey, once or twice a yeare, and therefore as Noble men in England possessed great Parkes, and the King great Forrests in England onely for their game, and no man might lawfully invade their Propriety: So might the Natives challenge the like Propriety of the Countrey here.

It was replied unto him. 1. That the King, and Noble men in England, as they possessed greater Territories then other men, So they did greater service to Church and Common-wealth.

2. That they employed their Parkes and Forrests, not for hunting onely, but for timber, and for the nourishment of tame beasts, as well as wild, and also for habitation to sundry Tenants.

3. That our Townes here did not disturb the huntings of the Natives, but did rather keepe their Game fitter for their taking; for they take their Deere by Traps, and not by Hounds.

4. That if they complained of any straites wee put upon them,

wee gave satisfaction in some payments or other, to their content.

5. We did not conceive that it is a just Title to so vast a Continent, to make no other improvement of millions of Acres in it, but onely to burne it up for pastime.

But these Answers not satisfying him, this was still pressed by him as a Nationall sinne, to hold to the Patent, yea, and a Nationall duty to renounce the Patent: which to have done, had subverted the fundamentall State, and Government of the Countrey.

II. The second offence which procured his Banishment, was occasioned as I touched before. The Magistrates and other members of the Generall Court, upon intelligence of some Episcopall and malignant practises against the Countrey, they made an order of Court to take tryall of the fidelity of the People, (not by imposing upon them, but) by offering to them an Oath of Fidelitie: that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not betrust them with place of publick change and Command. This Oath when it came abroad, he vehemently withstood it, and disswaded sundry from it, partly because it was, as he said, Christ's Prerogative to have his Office established by Oath: partly because an Oath was a part of God's worship, and God's worship was not to be put upon carnall persons, as he conceived many of the People to be. So by his Tenent neither might Church-members, nor other godly men, take the Oath, because it was the establishment not of Christ, but of mortall men in their office; nor might men out of the Church take it, because in his eye they were but carnall. So the Court was forced to desist from that proceeding; which practice of his was held to be the more dangerous, because it tended to unsettle all the Kingdomes and Common-wealths in Europe.

These were (as I tooke it) the causes of his Banishment: two other things fell in upon these that hastened the sentence. The former fell out thus: The Magistrates discerning by the former passages, the heady and turbulent spirit of Mr. Williams, both they and others advised the Church of Salem not to call him to office in their Church; neverthelesse, the major part of the Church made choice of him. Soone after, when the Church made suit to

the Court for a parcell of Land adjoyning to them, the Court delayed to grant their Request (as hath been mentioned before) because the Church had refused to harken to the Magistrates, and others in forbearing the choice of Mr. Williams. Whereupon Mr. Williams took occasion to stirre up the Church to joyne with him in writing Letters of Admonition unto all the Churches, whereof those Magistrates were members, to admonish them of their open transgression of the Rule of Justice. Which Letters coming to the severall Churches, provoked the Magistrates to take the more speedy course with so heady and violent a Spirit.

But to prevent his sufferings, (if it might be) it was mooved by some of the Elders, that themselves might have liberty (according to the Rule of Christ) to deale with him, and with the Church also in a Church-way. It might be the Church might heare us and he the Church; which being consented to some of our churches wrote to the Church of Salem, to present before them the offensive Spirit and way of their Officer, (Mr. Williams) both in Judgment and Practise. The Church finally began to hearken to us, and accordingly began to addresse themselves to the healing of his Spirit. Which he discerning; renounced communion with the Church of Salem, pretending they held communion with the Churches in the Bay, and the Churches in the Bay held communion with the Parish-Churches in England, because they suffered their members to heare the word amongst them in England, as they came over into their native Countrey. He then refusing to resort to the Publick Assembly of the Church. Soone after sundry began to resort to his Family, where he preached to them on the Lord's day. But this carriage of his in renouncing the Church upon such an occasion and with them all the Churches in the Countrey and the spreading of his Leaven to sundry that resorted to him; this gave the Magistrates the more cause to observe the heady unrulelinesse of his Spirit, and the incorrigiblenesse thereof by any Church-way, all the Churches in the Countrey being then renounced by him, And this was the other occasion which hastened the Sentence of his Banishment, upon the former Grounds.[1]

[1]Publications of the Narragansett Club, ii, 41, *et seq.*

CHAPTER XIII

Roger Williams was now in England, as we have already seen, engaged in the attempt to procure a charter for the young colony, an attempt which finally proved successful. He had set sail from New Amsterdam in June or July, 1643. Upon reaching the Dutch colony he again found employment for his services as a pacificator. Governor Winthrop relates the incident:

1643. Mo. 4, 20.—There fell out hot wars between the Dutch and the Indians thereabout. The occasion was this. An Indian being drunk had slain an old Dutchman. . . . The Indians also of Long Island took part with their neighbours upon the main, and as the Dutch took away their corn, so they fell to burning the Dutch houses. But these, by the mediation of Mr. Williams, who was there to go in a Dutch ship for England, were pacified and peace re-established between the Dutch and them.[1]

The visit of Mr. Williams to England marks the beginning of the period of his highest literary activity. He was already engaged, as we have seen, in his controversial correspondence with John Cotton. There was no intent, probably, in the minds of either, to make any portion of this correspondence public. Both disclaimed responsibility for the appearance of the first of these letters which was published; but, the letter having been made public,—doubtless by some friend of Williams in England, to whom he had shown it—the correspondence was continued by both parties, in print, as has already been disclosed.

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[1]Winthrop, ii, 97.

Upon the voyage Williams had employed his pen in the production of a remarkable work, which chiefly served to win for him a place as a man of letters. This was his *Key into the Languages of America*, a work which, in the original edition, is now excessively rare and much sought by the bibliophile.[1] The work was published in London, soon after his arrival, in 1643, and attracted instant attention from philologists and other scholars.

Mr. Williams reached England at the time when the country was in the throes of civil war. The Long Parliament was in session. Prynne had been released from prison and had passed through the streets of London amid the plaudits of the populace. The Earl of Strafford had been impeached and had died upon the scaffold, receiving through prison bars, the blessing of Archbishop Laud, as he passed on his way to the place of death. The Star Chamber had been abolished; Charles had fled from London; Edgehill had been fought; and throughout the country rang the call to arms. The throne of England was tottering to its fall.

For more than a year Williams remained in London, engaged for the most part in negotiating with the members of Parliament for the charter for his colony. The operations of the Puritan army about Newcastle had caused a cessation, entire or in part, of the mining of coal, and the people of London, and especially the poor, were suffering for fuel. Wood was scarce and dear, and Williams, seeing the great need of the poor of the city, occupied himself in the amelioration of their distress.

In one of his later writings Mr. Williams,—who appears to have been somewhat fond of recounting his deeds—alludes to this episode in his life.

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[1] Reprinted in Pubs. Nar. Club, v, 1.

It is not unknown to many witnesses in Plymmouth, Salem and Providence, that the discussers time hath not been spent (though as much as any others whosoever) altogether in spiritual labors and publike exercises of the Word, but day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the How, at the Oare, for bread; yea and I can tell that when these discussions were prepared for publike in London his time was eaten up in attendance upon the service of Parliament and city for the supply of the poor of the city with wood (during the stop of coals from Newcastle, and the mutinies of the poor for firing) 'Tis true, he might have run the road of preferment, as well in Old as New England, and have had the leasure and time of such who eat and drink with the drunken, and smite with the fist of wickedness their fellow servants: But God is a most holy witness that these meditations were fitted for publike view in change of rooms and corners, yea sometimes (upon occasion of travel in the country, concerning that business of fuell) in variety of strange houses, sometimes in the fields, in the midst of travels where he hath been forced to gather and scatter his loose thought, and papers.[1]

Notwithstanding that his time was so fully occupied in this manner, Mr. Williams still found time, as he has shown us, for literary work. His epistolary controversy with John Cotton was closely followed by a far more elaborate discussion with the same antagonist. There soon appeared from his pen, a book entitled, *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution.* Three years later a reply to this appeared, of which John Cotton was the author, entitled: *The Bloudy Tenant Washed and Made White in the Blood of the Lamb.* In 1652 a rejoinder appeared, from the pen of Williams, to which he gave the title: *The Bloudy Tenant made yet more Bloudy through Mr. Cotton's Attempt to Wash it White.*

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[1] *The Bloudy Tenant yet more Bloudy,*—Pub. Nar. Club, iv, 103.

In the first named of these works Mr. Williams appears for the first time, distinctively as the advocate of the doctrine of entire liberty of conscience in religious matters. But this is not all; for in this book this author distinctly enunciates a doctrine which, even in that day of popular uprising, was not common; a doctrine which lay dormant until, one hundred and thirty-two years later, it was again enunciated, and upon it was a Great Republic founded.

In May, 1776, the Virginia House of Delegates adopted a Declaration of Rights. It was framed by James Madison, who, later, became a President of the United States. In this Declaration Madison wrote:

All power is vested in and consequently derived from the people; magistrates are their trustees and servants and at all times amenable to them. Government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit and security of the people, nation or community; and whenever any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such a manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.[1]

Two months after the adoption of this bill by the British Colony of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson wrote, and the representatives of the United Colonies, in Congress assembled declared:—

We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government,

[1]Bancroft, iv, 417.

laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.[1]

To these principles George the Third could not assent; no doubt they were, to him, as novel as they were subversive of order and of royal sovereignty. And yet Roger Williams, in 1644, had written, in his work, *The Bloudy Tenant of Persecution*

Whereas they say that the Civill Power may erect and establish what forme of civill Government may seeme in wisdome most meet, I acknowledge the proposition to be most true, both in itself and also considered with the end of it, that a civill Government is an Ordinance of God to conserve the civill peace of people, so farre as concernes their bodies and Goods as formerly hath beene said.

But from this Grant I infer (as before hath been touched) that the Soveraigne, originall and foundation of Civill power lies in the People, (whom they must needs meane by the civill power distinct from the Government set up.) And if so that a People may erect and establish what forme of Government seemes to them most meete for their civill condition: it is evident that such governments as are by them errected and established have no more power, nor for no longer time, then the civill power, or people consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with. This is cleere not only in Reason but in the experience of all Commonweales, where the people are not deprived of their natural freedom by the power of Tyrants.[2]

This, Mr. Williams's first controversial work, is divided into two parts. The first is, in effect, an elaboration of his correspondence with John Cotton, although it does not appear directly to be a continuation of it. The second is a discussion of a d a reply to a pamphlet entitled *A Model of Church and Civil Power*, the author-

[1] *Declaration of Independence.*

[2] *The Bloudy Tenant of Persecution.*—Pub. Nar. Club, iii, 249, 250.

ship of which Mr. Williams ascribes to John Cotton, but which the latter afterward disclaimed.

The first part,—while incidentally a continuation of the Williams-Cotton epistolary controversy,—is, in reality, an examination and discussion of a certain writing, which Cotton declares to have been sent to him by Williams years before for his examination, and which he publicly discussed and criticised. This paper appears to have been received by Cotton, at or about the time of the banishment of Williams, which circumstance may have produced upon the mind of Cotton the impression that it had been sent to him by his chief antagonist. At all events, John Cotton did examine and publicly criticise the treatise, which is said to have been written by a non-conformist, confined in Newgate prison. It is this criticism to which Williams makes elaborate reply in the first part of *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution.*

Mr. Cotton made reply in his treatise. *The Bloudy Tenant Washed and made White in the Blood of the Lamb*; which appeared three years after the publication of the book to which it was intended to be a reply. In his opening Mr. Cotton says:

> Mr. Williams sent me, about a dozen years agoe, (as I remember) a letter, penned (as he wrote) by a Prisoner in Newgate, touching persecution for Conscience sake, and intreated my judgement of it for the satisfaction of his friend.

This letter proves to have been a portion of a treatise, published anonymously in 1620, under the title: *A Most Humble Supplication of the King's Majesty's Loyal Subjects, ready to testify all Civil Obedience, by the oath of Allegiance, or otherwise, and that of Conscience; who are persecuted (only for differing in Religion) contrary to Divine and Human Testimonies; As followeth:*

The authorship of this pamphlet has never satisfac-

torily been determined. In Mr. Williams's rejoinder to Cotton's reply,—published in 1652, under the title *The Bloudy Tenent made yet more Bloudy through Mr. Cotton's Attempt to Wash it White*,—he denies having sent the fragment of the Newgate prisoner's treatise to Mr. Cotton for his judgment, and suggests that it may have been sent him by "One Master Hall of Roxbury."[1] But this question does not appear to be a matter of moment. It chiefly concerns us to know that Mr. Cotton made public his criticism of the Newgate prisoner's argument, and to this criticism Williams, some years after its publication, makes reply in *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*. The literary form is somewhat quaint, the author typifying the genii of *Truth* and *Peace*, discoursing. The portion which discloses the manner in which the original treatise was written and made public is of curious interest:—

Truth. Sweet Peace, what hast thou there?

Peace. Arguments against persecution for cause of Conscience.

Truth. And what there?

Peace. An Answer to such Arguments contrarily maintaining such persecution for cause of Conscience.

Truth. These Arguments against such persecution, and the Answer pleading for it, written, (as Love hopes) from godly intentions, hearts and hands, yet in a mervellous different style and manner. The Arguments against persecution in milke, the Answer for it (as I may say) in bloud.

The Authour of these Arguments (against persecution) (as I have beene informed), being committed by some then in power, close prisoner to Newgate, for the witnesse of some truths of Jesus, and having not the use of Pen and Inke, wrote these Arguments in Milke, in sheets of Paper, brought to him by the woman his Keeper, from a friend in London, as the stopples of his Milk bottle.

[1] *The Bloudy Tenent yet more Bloudy*, Pub. Nar. Club, iv, 54.

In such Paper written with Milk nothing will appeare, but the way of reading it by fire being knowne to this friend who received the Papers, he transcribed and kept together the Papers, although the Author himselfe could not correct nor view what himselfe had written.[1]

In this treatise Mr. Williams, in a vigorous manner presents the ideas of liberty in matters of conscience, a principle which was by no means a discovery of his own, but only a vigorous adaptation. The words of William of Orange, already quoted, show that, nearly a century before these controversial books saw the light of print, that enlightened monarch had firmly planted his feet upon a platform which Williams, in his day, rebuilt and re-established. The channel through which this grand idea was transmitted, is not difficult to trace, when one remembers the great hegira of Separatists from England to Holland, and their return to their own country, when the storm cloud seemed, in a measure, about to clear away. In his treatise to which this book is a reply, Mr. Cotton has referred to a certain tract, then recently published anonymously, under the title: *A Model of Church and Civil Power.* This tract Cotton designated as "a treatise sent to some of the Brethren late of Salem." Its purpose was, evidently, to discuss and decide the question, then prominently appearing before the forum of public opinion, of the proper boundary to be drawn between the civil and the ecclesiastical power. The position assumed by the writer of this pamphlet—whom Mr. Williams erroneously assumes to have been Cotton—is attacked by Williams in his argument, the same literary form being employed as in the earlier portion of the work. It is in this second part of his work, in which occurs the remarkable parallelism which has been quoted.

[1] *The Bloudy Tenant of Persecution,* Pubs. Nar. Club, iii, 61.

In this work which, in one aspect, is the most important which Williams had yet written, the author made a distinct advance in literary style. In his previous writings,—if one may possibly except his *Key into the Indian Languages of America*, much of which is in tabular form —he had distinctly failed to acquire a clear and succinct English style. Indeed, his meaning is often obscure. We have evidence that this was the case, in the first of his formal writings of which we have any record, namely, his attack upon the patent, written while he was in Plymouth and afterward offered by him to be burnt, by the authorities of the Bay. Governor Winthrop, it is remembered, characterized it as "written in very obscure and implicative phrases," which "might well admit of doubtful interpretation."[1] The very earliest extant of his writings—the two letters to Lady Barrington—are examples of this peculiar obscurity of diction, for which his earlier writings are distinguished.

When Roger Williams arrived in England the Westminster Assembly was in session in London, engaged in the preparation of the confession of faith, the catechism and other forms of church doctrine and discipline, in accordance with the principles of the Church of Scotland. The majority of the members of the Assembly were staunch Presbyterians; but there was among them a considerable contingent of Independents. In the early part of the year 1644, a treatise appeared, being set forth by the five Independent leaders in the Assembly. This was entitled "*An Apologetical Narration*, humbly submitted to the Honorable Houses of Parliament, by Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jeremiah Burroughs and William Bridge." Replies to this treatise were published

[1]Winthrop, i, 123.

by Presbyterian members. This controversy, as was natural, attracted the attention of Mr. Williams, and he prepared a treatise, in which he reviewed the discussion and made reply to the contestants upon both sides. This treatise was entitled, *Queries of Highest Consideration*, and, in its title is addressed to the five Independent leaders by name, and to "the Commissioners from the General Assembly (so called) of the Church of Scotland, upon occasion of their late printed apologies for themselves and their Churches: in all humble Reverence presented to the view of the Right Honorable the Houses of the High Court of Parliament." This treatise was published anonymously, but the authorship has been fixed upon Roger Williams, both by internal evidence, and by a passage in Cotton's *Answer to Master Roger Williams, his Examination*. This pamphlet in its original edition is excessively rare.

In the *Queries* Williams again takes occasion to enforce his doctrine, already shown forth, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and by the profuse use of references to the Scriptures he makes a strong argument showing forth the unreason and injustice of persecution in the cause of religon.

The *Queries* were published in the year 1644 while Williams was yet in England. Not long after his return to New England there appeared still another pamphlet, which, although also published without name, was undoubtedly the work of Roger Williams. That such a pamphlet was written by him, and published at about this time, has long been suspected, but it was not until the year 1881 that an uncatalogued copy was by accident discovered in the British Museum, by Dr. H. M. Dexter. The pamphlet is entitled, *Christenings Make not Christians; or a Briefe Discourse concerning that name Heathen*

commonly given to the Indians; as also concerning that great point of their Conversion. This treatise, as well as the *Bloudy Tenent*, the *Queries*, and the later of the Cotton letters, was undoubtedly written while Williams was in London, his literary activity being thus still further displayed. In its subject matter it deprecates the prevalent custom of applying the term *Heathen* to the North American Indians, for the assumed reason that they were naked savages. Quoting learnedly from the Hebrew and from the Greek he shows that the word *heathen*, as used in the Scriptures, is applied to the Gentiles, or those nations who were not included among the people of God. Hence, he argues, those to-day who have accepted Jesus Christ are to be regarded as the people of God; while all others, whether civilized or barbarous, are properly heathen. The name of Christian, he concludes, is not then properly applied to those who have merely gained that designation by ecclesiastical form, but only to those to whom the name has "come by true regeneration within."

It is probable that the *Queries* appeared while Williams was still in England, for they were published in February, 1644, while, from the record of Governor Winthrop, we know that Williams did not reach Boston, upon his return journey, until September of that year. The last named of this series of writings, however, undoubtedly was delayed in publication until after the author had left the country. This circumstance will undoubtedly explain the large number of uncorrected typographical errors which occur throughout the pamphlet.

Roger Williams had visited England, as we already know, to obtain a charter, as the joint agent of the Colony of Providence Plantations and that at Aquidneck, or Rhode Island, the latter including the towns of Ports-

mouth and Newport. In November, 1643, the Earl of Warwick was appointed Governor-in-chief and Lord High Admiral for the colonies, and was also made chairman of the committee of the Long Parliament, to which was committed the charge of the affairs of the colonies, It was with Warwick, therefore, that Williams conducted his negotiations for the charter, which was granted to the *Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England.* The charter, which bore date March 14, 1643, was broad in its terms, and granted

to the aforesaid Inhabitants of the Towns of Providence, Portsmouth and Newport a free and absolute Charter of Incorporation to be known by the name of the Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narraganset Bay in New England, together with full Power and Authority to rule themselves and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any part of the said Tract of land, by such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all or the greater part of them they shall find most suitable to their estate and condition; and for that end to make and ordain such civil laws and constitution and to inflict such punishments upon transgressors and for execution thereof so to place and displace officers of justice as they or the greatest part of them shall be free consent agree to.[1]

Having succeeded in the object of his visit Mr. Williams at once set out upon his return journey. Upon his voyage to England he had set sail from New Amsterdam, now New York, and not from the much nearer port of Boston, by reason, of course, of the act of exclusion from the Bay Colony, which had been passed against him. Upon the return voyage, however, he was desirous of taking passage for Boston; and that the authorities of the Bay might be induced to allow him to land, and to give him a safe conduct through their domain, he

[1] *R. I. Col. Rec.*, i, 13.

solicited and obtained from certain influential Puritans a letter to the governor and magistrates, bespeaking their friendly conduct toward him. This letter, aside from its intrinsic interest, stirs a curious chord of memory when we read its signatures, and there find the names of Barrington and Masham—names so closely connected with Mr. Williams's early love affair, and its disastrous conclusion.

To the Right Worshipful the Governour and assistants and the rest of our worthy Friends in the Plantation of Massachusetts Bay.

Our Much Honour'd Friends:

Taking notice, some of us, of long time, of Mr. Roger Williams, his good affections and conscience, and of his sufferings by our common enemy and oppressors of God's people, the prelates, as also of his great industry and travels in his printed Indian labours in your parts (the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of America) and in which respect it hath pleased both Houses of Parliament to grant unto him and friends with him a free and absolute charter of civil government for those parts of his abode, and withal sorrowfully relenting, that amongst good men (our friends) driven to the ends of the world, exercised with the trials of a wilderness, and who mutually give good testimony each of the other (as we observe you do of him and he abundantly of you) there should be such a distance. We thought it fit, upon divers considerations, to profess our great desires of both your utmost endeavours of nearer closing and of ready expressing those good affections (which we perceive you bear to each other) in the actual performance of all friendly offices. The rather because of those bad neighbors you are likely to find too near you in Virginia, and the unfriendly visits from the West of England and from Ireland. That howsoever it may please the Most

High to shake our foundations, yet the report of your peaceable and prosperous plantations may be some refreshings to

Your true and faithful friends

Cor. Holland	Robert Harley
John Blackistow	John Gurdon
Isaac Pennington	Northumberland
Miles Corbett	P. Wharton
Oliver St. John	Tho. Barrington
Gilbert Pickering	William Masham[1]

Governor Winthrop thus chronicled the arrival of Mr. Williams and his application for permission to pass:

1644, 7, 17 [Sept. 17]—The Lady La Tour arrived here from London, in a ship commanded by Captain Bayley . . . . Here arrived also Mr. Roger Williams of Providence and with him two or three families. He brought with him a letter from divers lords and others of the parliament, the copy whereof ensueth.[2]

The application of Mr. Williams, reinforced, as it was, with the presentation of this letter,—for permission to pass through the territory of the Bay Colony, was granted by the magistrates, after some demur and hesitation. He, in all probability, made the journey on foot, from Boston to some point on the Blackstone river, down which stream he passed in a canoe. The news of his arrival had, by some means, preceded him, and he was met, so says tradition, by a delegation of citizens of Providence, in a fleet of canoes, and escorted to the town. This historic episode has been made the subject of an admirable mural painting, upon the wall of the main stairway of the Providence County Court House, in Providence.

In compensation for his services and expenses in procuring the charter, the colony voted to pay Mr. Williams

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[1]Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i, 160.

[2]Winthrop, ii, 193.

the sum of one hundred pounds, twenty pounds to be apportioned to Providence, thirty pounds to Portsmouth and fifty pounds to Newport. The amount was not, however, promptly paid, and it was not finally collected by Mr. Williams without some delay and trouble.

CHAPTER XIV

For the two or three years next following Mr. Williams's return from England, he seems to have been well occupied in pacifying his Indian friends, who appeared to be of a warlike mind, and in keeping the other English colonies informed of contemplated movements. In the year immediately following his return the peace made the previous year seemed to be upon the point of rupture. A meeting of the commissioners —a confederacy having been formed in 1644,—was called at Boston, on the twenty-eighth day of July, 1645. The Narragansetts had attacked the Mohegans and having gained a victory over them, had succeeded in winning the Mohawks to an alliance. The Connecticut colonists sent aid to Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, until such time as the commissioners should be able to meet and confer upon the situation.

The commissioners despatched three messengers to confer with the Narragansetts and the Mohegans, to request both tribes to send delegates to a peace conference; failing in which, the messengers were instructed to intimate that the English were disposed to send aid to Uncas, and to inquire whether the Narragansetts were inclined to maintain the established peace, or to attack the English.

The messengers returned bearing an evasive and somewhat threatening reply from the Narragansetts. They likewise brought with them a letter from Mr. Williams, "wherin he assures them that ye warr would presenly breake forth & ye whole country would be all of a flame. And yt the sachems of yt Narigansets had concluded a

newtrality with ye English of Providence and those of Aquidnett Iland."[1]

That the colonies at the Providence Plantations and on the Island of Rhode Island were at liberty to conclude a neutrality, while these warlike preparations were in progress and while the other colonies were threatened, is explained in the fact of Williams's remarkable friendship with the Indians; and in the further fact that the Narragansett Bay colonies, not having been admitted to the confederation of 1644, were at entire liberty to enter into an engagement of neutrality or, if they should choose, make an alliance with the Indian tribes. That war was averted at this time, and that the confederacy succeeded in making a treaty of peace with the Narragansetts and the Niantics is, perhaps, in a considerable measure due to the timely information sent by Mr. Williams and to his potent influence with his Indian friends. The treaty of peace thus concluded, called for the payment to the Bay Colony by the Narragansetts of an immense amount of wampum, which was not promptly paid. Three years later, it became known that the Narragansetts and the Niantics were not faithfully keeping their engagement not to make war upon the Mohegans. This coming to the knowledge of the Bay, and it further appearing that fully one thousand fathoms of the wampum had not been delivered, it was determined to send a deputation to the Narragansetts to remonstrate concerning these matters. Here again was an opportunity for the exercise of Williams's good offices and he accompanied the deputation in the capacity of interpreter, and succeeded in bringing the matter to a successful and satisfactory termination.[2]

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[1]Bradford, 515.

[2]Winthrop, ii, 333.

But, although Mr. Williams was invariably successful in his dealings with the Indians and was admirable as a pacificator with them, with his own people of the colony he was not equally successful. For years the settlements were torn with feuds, divisions, contentions and dissensions. There was a jealousy between the people of the Plantations and those of Aquidneck, a jealousy, the traces of which remain until the present day.

These dissensions and feuds were not confined to this phase, but permeated each settlement and were often individual in their character. They began with the Verin episode already narrated, and continued through many years in a variety of forms. Mr. Williams himself was not exempt and, as we shall see, was, a few years later than the present point in our study, fiercely attacked by a member of the original party and forced to make a formal defence to his charges. It is, perhaps, by reason of these constant contentions that a delay of three years occurred between the reception of the charter and the organization of the colony under it.

So earnest was Mr. Williams in his desire to quell these disturbances, and bring the various discordant elements in the colony into harmonious action. that he, in connection with his brother Robert and other prominent men of the colony, framed and signed an agreement, engaging to "carry themselves [ourselves] in words and behaviour so moderately and orderly as the cause shall permit, and if in case any shall fly out in provoking, scurrilous, or exorbitant speeches or unsuitable behaviour, that he or they so doing shall be publicly declared, branded and noted upon record to be a common violator and disturber of the Union, peace and liberties of this plantation." This expedient does not appear to have produced the hoped for effect, for a few years later, as we shall find, Sir Henry

Vane, learning doubtless from Williams of the extent of these dissensions, wrote to the people of the colony a letter exhorting them to peacefulness and love toward one another.

Roger Williams, however, appears to have commanded the respect of the people, although he was unable to quell their turbulence. He was elected to the office of president's assistant for Providence, at the organization of the colony under the charter, and in 1649 he was made deputy president of the colony. In the summer of 1651—for the relation of some features of Rhode Island history seems unavoidable— Mr. Coddington of Newport visited England and succeeded in obtaining for himself a commission as governor for life of the Aquidneck settlements. This virtually abrogated the charter of the Providence Plantations, and again Mr. Williams was deputized to proceed to England, in the interest of the colony. At the same time John Clarke of Newport was dispatched to England, in behalf of the Aquidneck colonists, to procure the repeal of Coddington's commission. Incidentally, also, Williams was commissioned to come to such an understanding with Parliament as should settle a dispute which had for some time existed between Providence Plantations and the Bay, concerning the true owership of the town of Warwick.

Desirous of embarking, on this journey, at the port of Boston, and of landing there upon his return, Mr. Williams addressed a petition to the General Court of the Bay, begging their permission to pass through their territory for that purpose. The petition modestly recounts his services in the pacification of the Indians, and urges these as arguments for the granting of the petition.

Roger Williams to the General Court.

To the honored General Court of the Massachusetts Colony, now assembled at Boston.

October, 1651.

The Humble Petition of Roger Williams.

Although it be true yet it pleased this honored Government now many years since to pass a sentence of banishment upon me, which sentence and the consequences (bitter afflictions and miseries, losses, sorrows and hardships) I have humbly desired (through the help of the most High) to endure with a quiet and patient mind.

Yet, may it please you favorably to remember, that at my last arrival from my native country, I presented this honored government with letters from many of your noble and honorable friends, then of the Parliament of England, lamenting of differences and persuading moderation, if not reconcilement and pacification.

Please you to remember that ever since the time of my exile I have been (through God's help) a professed and known servant to this colony and all the colonies of the English in peace and war, so that scarce a week hath passed but some way or other I have been used as instrumental to the peace and spreading of the English plantings in this country.

In the Pequod troubles, receiving letters from this Government, I hazarded my life into extreme dangers, by laboring to prevent the league between the Pequods and the Narragansetts, and to work a league between the English and the Narragansetts, which work as an agent from this colony and all the English in the land, I (through help from God) effected. The fruit thereof (as our much honored Mr. Winthrop, deceased, wrote to me) hath been peace to the English ever since.

At present let me not offend you in saying that I pass not only as a private passenger, but as a messenger and agent to the High Court of the Parliament of England, in the name of my neigh-

bors, the English, occasioned by the late grant obtained by Mr. Coddington for Rhode Island.

In all which respects I humbly pray, yet (notwithstanding the former sentence) I may find yet civility and courtesy from the English of the Massachusetts Colony, yet I (inoffensively behaving myself) may inoffensively and without molestation, pass through your jurisdiction as a stranger for a night, to the ship and so (if God so please) may land again, from the land of our nativity.

But some may say, you are an opposite to the way in worship, and besides you can go as an adversary, with complaints against us for the town of Warwick.

To the first, I humbly pray it may be remembered, that not only I, but the many millions of millions of our Father Adam's children, (which are as the sand upon the seashore) are not of your persuasion, yea and many thousands of the poor remnant of God's children abroad, are at lamentable difference with you and themselves as to the worship of God in Christ Jesus. I add, who knows but upon humble and Christian debatements and agitations, not only I, but your honored selves, may yet see cause to put our mouths in the dust together, as touching the present controversies about the Christian worship.

To the second I humbly and truly answer, yet if it please this honored Court to depute two or three of yourselves to receive and debate mine answer to this objection, I hope (through God's assistance) to make it apparent, yet I go not as an enemy to the Massachussetts, but as a professed instrument of a peaceable and honorable end of the sad controversy, and as a humble servant, rather than an enemy, to this honored Government of the Massachusetts.

I am unworthy, yet desire to be

Your humble servant,

Roger Williams.[1]

The records of the General Court of the Bay, curiously

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iv, 471; *et vide*, Pubs. Nar. Club, vi, 231

enough contain no mention of this petition of Williams for safe conduct, but that it was granted is made certain from this appended note:

> The Deputies think meet to grant this petition, viz: liberty to Mr. Williams to pass through our jurisdiction to England, provided he carry himself inoffensively according to his promise with reference to the consent of our honored magistrates.
>
> William Torrey, Clerk.

Williams and Clarke sailed together from Boston in November, 1651, and arrived in London early in 1652. Here Williams remained two years, and they seem to have been with him as busy years as those which he formerly passed in England. In 1647 Mr. Cotton had published his reply to *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*, under the title, as already noted, *The Bloudy Tenent Washed and made White in the Blood of the Lamb*. Five years had passed since this treatise appeared from the press of a London publishing house, but as yet no rejoinder from Mr. Williams had appeared. Whether he had little by little, during these years, been preparing his reply, or whether the leisure of the voyage offered the long desired opportunity, cannot be determined, although there is some evidence that the first was the case. At all events, during the first year of his visit in England, his rejoinder appeared. It was entitled, *The Bloudy Tenent made yet more Bloudy through Mr. Cotton's attempt to Wash it White*. Mr. Cotton's reply to *The Bloudy Tenent* which had been published, as stated, in 1647, was a careful criticism of that treatise, each chapter being considered in proper consecutive order. He made no reply to Mr. Williams's criticism of *The Model of Church and Civil Power*, disclaiming the authorship of, or any responsibility for, that pamphlet. In April, 1652,

not long after Williams's second arrival in England, two treatises from his pen were published. These were entitled: *Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health*, and *The Hireling Ministry None of Christ's*. *The Bloudy Tenent yet more Bloudy* had probably been written before these pamphlets, but they preceded it in time of publication.

In this last named work the author opens with three distinct introductions, or prefaces. The first of these is addressed, "To the High Court of Parliament"; the second, "To the Several Respective Generall Courts, especially that of the Massachusetts in New England"; the third, "To the Merciful and Compassionate Reader." In the second of these introductions, in his somewhat diffuse manner, he summarizes thus the contents of his work:

It is a second Conference of *Peace* and *Truth*, an examination of the worthily honoured and beloved Mr. Cotton's Reply to a former Conference and Treatise of this Subject: And although it concern all Nations, which have persecuted and shed the Blood of Jesus, the Bloudie Roman Empire, with all the savage Lyons thereof, Emperours and Popes, the bloudie monarchies of Spain and France and the rest of Europe's Kingdoms and States, (which under their several Vizards and Pretences of Service to God, have in so many thousands of his Servants Murthered so many thousand times over, his dear Son) yea although it concern that Bloudy Turkish monarchy, and all the Nations of the World who practice violence to the Conscience of any Christian, or Anti-Christian, Jews or Pagans; yet it concerns your selves (which all due respect otherwise be it spoken) (in some more eminent degrees; Partly as so many of yours of chief note (beside Mr. Cotton) are engaged in it; partly as N. England (in respect of Spiritual and Civil State) professeth to draw nearer to Christ Jesus then other States and Churches, and partly in N. England is believed to hold and

practice such a Bloudy Doctrine, notwithstanding Mr. Cotton's Vails and Pretences of not persecuting men for conscience, but punishing them only for sinning against conscience; and of but so and so, not persecuting but punishing Hereticks, Blasphemers, Idolators, Seducers, &c.

This explanation, though not a little obscure in phraseology, perhaps sufficiently describes the subject matter of this final treatise of this controversial series. The discussion, which ceased at this point, had been conducted with courtesy and with an absence of bitter personalities. The final treatise closes with an Appendix, which the author addresses "To the Cleargie of the foure great Parties (professing the name of Christ Jesus) in England, Scotland and Ireland, viz. The Popish, Prelaticall, Presbyterian and Independent." In this he severely scores the churches and clergy who were parties to the quadrangular religious struggle of the century. He says,

You foure have torn the seamless coate of the Son of God into foure pieces, and (to say nothing of former Times and Tearings) you foure have torne the three Nations into thousands of pieces and Distractions. The two former of you, the Popish and (Protestant) Prelaticall are Brethren; so are the latter, the Presbyterian and Independent. But, oh, how *Rara est*, &c! What Concord, what Love, what pitie hath ever yet appeared amongst you, when the providence of the Most High and onely Wise hath granted you your Pattents of mutual and successive Dominion and precedence. Just like two men, whom I have knowne breake out to Blowes and Wrastling, so have the Protestant Bishops fought and wrastled with the Popish, and the Popish with the Protestant! The Presbyterian with the Independent and the Independent with the Presbyterian! And our Chronicles and Experiences have told this Nation and the World, how he whose

Turne it is to be brought under, hath ever felt an heavie wrathfull hand of an unbrotherly and unchristian persecutor.

What more keen and scathing denunciation can be found, than this, which accuses the churches of conduct, the equivalent of an act, from which the very executioners of The Christ themselves shrank!

Williams reached London at the time when the future author of *Paradise Lost* was at the height of his political fame. Charles I had been bebeaded two years before, and Milton, as a reward for a pamphlet written in defence of the Commonwealth had been appointed Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council. He had written his *Eikonoklastes, or Image Breaker*, in reply to the famous *Eikon Basilike*. Before his appointment he had written and published a half dozen of pamphlets, directed against the prelacy, the last of which was his still remembered *Areopagetica*. At this time Salmasius, a Dutch professor, published a defence of Charles I, and the Council of State applied to Milton to write a reply. It was at this point of time, as seems probable, that Williams formed his intimacy with Milton. In a letter to John Winthrop, written after Williams's return to New England, in the summer of 1654, the latter wrote:

The Secretary of the Council (Mr. Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages.[1]

From this passage it may be inferred that Williams, having naturally formed the acquaintance of the Council's secretary, and being familiar with the Dutch language, translated for Milton the treatise of Salmasius. By what manner Williams himself learned Dutch it is impossible to determine with certainty; but yet we know that, before his emigration to New England, he lived in Essex, which shire borders upon the North Sea, over against Holland;

[1]Pubs. Nar. Club, vi, 262.

and in Essex very many of the returned Anabaptists and other non-conformists, who had before time fled to Holland made their homes. It is not unlikely that from these returned fugitives, Williams acquired the tongue which they themselves had learned, during their residence among the Dutch. Williams had read thoroughly the writings of Milton, and had greatly admired them, except possibly his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.* This last named pamphlet, written when Milton was vexed at his wife's desertion, was received with horror by the Episcopal party in England and was deprecated by many of his friends.

It was about this time that Williams bethought him of his early days in England and especially of his benefactor, Sir Edward Coke. The great lawyer had died two years after Williams's emigration to New England, now twenty years past. He remembered, however, Coke's daughter Anne, who was now Mrs. Sadlier, residing at Stondon, Puckridge. To her he addressed a letter, dated, "At my lodgings near St. Martin's, at Mr. Davis his house, at the sign of the Swan." This letter was probably written in the spring or summer of 1652, for in it he informs Mrs. Sadlier of his arrival in England during "this last winter," "being sent over from some parts of New England with some addresses to the Parliament." He alludes in a loving and grateful manner to her late father; and offers his apologies for not paying his respects in person, urging as his excuse his "very great business," and his "very great straits of time." He then proceeds to relate something of his life's experiences in the score of years that have passed. "It hath pleased the Most High," he writes, "to carry me on eagles' wings, through mighty labors, mighty hazards, mighty sufferings, and to vouchsafe to use so base an instrument—as I humbly

hope—to glorify himself, in many of my trials and sufferings, both among the English and barbarians." Continuing, he speaks of his written works—which he designates as "the two-egded sword of God's spirit"—and of his public appearances "in some contests against the ministers of Old and New England, as touching the true ministry of Christ and the soul freedoms of the people." His writings, he informs her, are chiefly controversial, and hence he refrains from sending her copies of any of them, lest they might fail to interest her. He, however, begs her acceptance of a publication which he calls "a plain and peaceable discourse" of his own personal experiments, written to his wife, during her severe illness, while he was absent from home among the Indians.

Mrs. Sadlier, in a rather curt note of reply declines his gift and returns it unread, explaining that she had "given over reading many books," and was devoting herself exclusively to the perusal of "the bible, the late King's book, [Eikon Basilike] Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Reverend Bishop Andrew's Sermons, with his other divine meditations, Dr. Jer. Taylor's works and Dr. Tho. Jackson upon the Creed." These she commended to his reading, saying that she feared that his "new lights, that are so much cried up will prove but dark lanterns."

Williams was evidently a little piqued at the defiant attitude, or perhaps regarded her moods in the light of a challenge to a controversy, the delight of his very soul. He instantly despatched a copy of *The Bloudy Tenent yet more Bloudy*, which she as promptly returned unread, together with a request that he trouble her no more in this kind. But he was not to be rebuffed in this manner. He sends her a lengthy reply accepting her quasi challenge, as expressed in her belief that his new lights would prove

but dark lanterns. His argument is couched in terms in the highest degree courteous, in this respect differing widely from his letters addressed some years before, to Lady Barrington. He makes a strong plea for the doctrine of a new birth, and exhibits his strong disapproval of ecclesiastical ordinances—especially that of baptism, and of orders in the ministry, In conclusion, since she has referred him to certain books for his reading, he in turn recommends her to peruse Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying* and Milton's *Eikonoklastes*.

Mrs. Sadlier was now thoroughly angry and closed the correspondence with an exceedingly sharp reply, and one which cannot be commended for courtesy of expression and moderation of tone. Mrs. Sadlier was evidently possessed of a temper, and of a tongue which she well knew how to wield. She says that she thought her first letter would have silenced him, "but," she says, "it seems you have a face of brass so that you cannot blush." She rebukes him savagely for certain aspersions which he has cast upon the character of the late king, saying: "None but such a villain as yourself would have wrote them." This position she enforces vigorously with scriptural quotations. Next she pays her respects to John Milton,—whose writings have been commended to her perusal,—and attacks him with energy, for his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, and ends by accusing him of bigamy and asserts his blindness to be a judgment of God upon him. She concludes by saying:

> By what I have now writ you know how I stand affected, I will walk as directly to heaven as I can, in which place, if you will turn from being a rebel, and fear God and obey the King, there is hope I may meet you there: howsoever, trouble me no more with your letters for they are very troublesome to her that wishes you in the place from whence you came.

These letters, the originals of which are in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, serve to show forth that the peculiar characteristic of Williams, a love of controversy, still clung to him, and that the merest semblance of a challenge was enough to bring his mental combativeness into full play.

During his stay in England it is certain that he was shown social courtesies by Sir Henry Vane and his wife. His discourse, a copy of which he sent to Mrs. Sadlier with his first letter to that lady, was dedicated to Lady Vane. He also held frequent intimate conversations with Cromwell, who enquired with much interest concerning the Indians of New England and the religious work which was in progress among them. This is set forth fully in a letter written by Williams after his return.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

At my last departure for England I was importuned by the Narragansett sachems and especially by Ninigret to present the petition to the high sachems of England that they might not be forced from their religion and for not changing their religion be invaded by war; for they said they were daily visited with threatenings by Indians that came from about the Massachusetts, that if they would not pray they should be destroyed by war. With this their petitions I acquainted in private discourses divers of the chiefs of our nation; and especially his Highness who in many discourses I had with him never expressed the least tittle of displeasure, as hath been here reported, but in the midst of disputes ever expressed a high spirit of love and gentleness and was often pleased to please himself with very many questions, and my answers, about the Indian affairs of this country; and after all hearing of yourself and us it hath pleased his Highness and his council to grant amongst other favors to the Colony, some expressly concerning the very Indians, the native inhabitants of this jurisdiction.[1]

[1]R. I. Col. Rec., i, 291; Pubs. Nar. Club, vi, 269.

Mr. Williams was successful in his mission in that, in connection with Mr. Clarke, he succeeded in procuring an order for the vacating of the Coddington commission and for the continuance of the colony under the charter. This order was sent to New England by hand of one William Dyre, Williams remaining for a time in England. The colony wrote to him a letter of thanks for his services and proposed that he should procure his own appointment as governor of the colony for one year. But this step he does not appear even to have attempted to take, deeming it, no doubt, to be a movement savoring too much of the coup of Coddington. He remained in England until the summer of 1654, supporting himself, in great part, during his stay by teaching English and the languages. In July of that year he returned, bringing with him a letter from Sir Henry Vane addressed to the colonists at Providence Plantations, expressing his regret at learning of their long continued dissensions and pleading with them for greater harmony and unity of purpose. Williams brought with him also an order from Cromwell to the authorities of the Bay, directing them to give their bearer safe conduct through their territory.

CHAPTER XV

A most interesting circumstance connected with the life of Roger Williams is his lifelong friendship with John Winthrop. We have read his letter to the governor written at Plymouth within a year after his withdrawal from the Bay Colony, because he "durst not officiate to an unseparated people." We know that Winthrop—Haynes being at that time governor and Bellingham deputy governor—deeply regretted the banishment of Williams, although he had long felt that it was inevitable. We have seen that, Williams having definitely withdrawn from the colony, at the mandate of the General Court, Winthrop sent him a letter of advice as to his future settlement. That he did so without the knowledge of the magistracy is probable, for Winthrop's own record is to the effect that it was determined to arrest Williams and ship him to England, because the report was current, that he was about to start a plantation in the Narragansett Country. In 1637 something more than a year after the settlement had been made upon the Moshaussic, Winthrop, desirous of learning how the experiment of a separation of the civil from the ecclesiastical was succeeding, addressed to Williams a letter of inquiry. It is quite probable that this was intended to be regarded as in the nature of a reply to the letter of Williams to Winthrop, in which the former outlined his plan of government for his newly established plantation. Williams made reply in a lengthy epistle, in which he responds to the queries of his correspondent in detail. The substance of these queries thus propounded is readily gathered from the reply.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Providence the 24th of the 8th. [1637]

SIR, WORTHY AND WELL BELOVED,—I was abroad about the Pequod bufinefs when your letter arrived, and fince meffengers have not fitted, &c.

I therefore now thankfully acknowledge your wifdom and gentlenefs in receiving fo lovingly my late rude and foolifh lines: you bear with fools gladly becaufe you are wife.

I ftill wait upon your love and faithfulnefs for thofe poor papers, and cannot but believe that your heart, tongue, and pen fhould be one, if I were Turk or Jew, &c.

Your fix queries I welcome, my love forbidding me to furmife that a Pharifee, a Sadducee, an Herodian, &c., wrote them; but rather that your love and pity framed them as a phyfician to the ſick, &c.

He that made us thefe fouls and fearcheth them, that made the ear and eye, and therefore fees and hears I lie not, but in his prefence have fadly fequeftered myfelf to his holy tribunal, and your interrogatories, begging from his throne thofe feven fiery lamps and eyes, his holy Spirit, to help the ſcrutiny, defirous to fufpect myfelf above the old ſerpent himfelf, and remembering that he that trufteth in his own heart is a fool. Prov. 28.

While I anfwer let me importune from your loving breaft that good opinion that you deal with one (however fo and fo, in your judgment yet) ſerious, and defirous in the matters of God's Sanctuary to ufe (as the double weights of the Sanctuary teach us) double diligence.

Your firft Querie then is this.

What have you gained by your new-found practices? &c.

I confefs my gains caft up in man's exchange are loss of friends, efteem, maintenance, &c., but what was gain in that refpect I defire to count loft for the excellency of the knowledge of Chrift Jesus my Lord: &c. To His all glorious Name I know I have gained the honor of one of his poor witneffes, though in fackcloth.

To your beloved felves and others of God's people yet afleep, this witnefs in the Lord's feafon at your waking fhall be profperous, and the feed fown fhall arife to the greater purity of the kingdom and ordinances of the Prince of the kings of the earth.

To myfelf (through his rich grace) my tribulation hath brought fome confolation and more evidence of his love, finging Mofes his fong and the Lambs, in that weak victory which (through His help) I have gotten over the beaft, his picture, his mark, and number of his name, Revel. 15. 2. 3.

If you afk for numbers, the witneffes are but two: Revel. 11., and how many millions of Chriftians in name, and thoufands of Chriftians in heart, do call the truths (wherein yourfelf and I agree in witneffing) new found practices?

Gideon's army was thirty-two thoufand; but cowardice returned twenty-two thoufand back, and nine thoufand feven hundred worldlings fent but three hundred to the battle.

I will not by prophecy exafperate, but wifh (in the black and ftormy day) your company be not lefs than Gideon's to fight (I mean with the Blood of the Lamb and Word of Witnefs) for what you profefs to fee.

To your fecond, viz.: Is your fpirit as even as it was feven years fince?

I will not follow the fafhion either in commending or commemning of myfelf. You and I stand at one dreadful, dreadful tribunal: yet what is paft I defire to forget, and to prefs forward towards the mark for the price of the high calling of God in Chrift.

And for the evennefs of my fpirit.

Toward the Lord, I hope I more long to know and do His holy pleafure only, and to be ready not only to be banifhed, but to die in New England for the name of the Lord Jefus.

Towards yourfelves, I have hitherto begged of the Lord an even fpirit, and I hope ever fhall, as

Firft, reverently to efteem of, and tenderly to refpect the perfons of many hundreds of you, &c.

Secondly, To rejoice to fpend and be fpent in any fervice, (according to my confcience) for your welfares.

Thirdly, To rejoice to find out the leaft fwerving in judgment or practice from the help of any, even the leaft of you.

Laftly, to mourn daily, heavily, unceffantly, till the Lord look down from Heaven, and bring all his precious living ftones into one New Jerufalem.

To your third, viz.: Are you not grieved that you have grieved fo many?

I fay with Paul, I vehemently forrow for the forrow of any of Zion's daughters, who fhould ever rejoice in her King, &c., yet I muft (and O that I had not caufe) grieve becaufe fo many of Zion's daughters fee not and grieve not for their fouls defilements, and that fo few bear John company in weeping after the unfolding of the feals, which only weepers are acquainted with.

You thereupon propound a fourth, Do you think the Lord hath utterly forfaken us?

I anfwer Jehovah will not forfake His people for His great name's fake 1. Sam. 12. That is, the fire of His love towards thofe whom once He loves is eternal, like Himself: and thus far be it from me to queftion His eternal love towards you, &c. Yet if you grant that ever you were as Abraham among the Chaldees, Lot among the Sodomites, the Kenites among the Amalekites, as Ifrael in Egypt or Babel, and that under pain of their plagues and judgments you were bound to leave them, depart, fly out, (not from the places as in the type,) but from the filthinefs, of their fins, &c., and if it prove, as I know affuredly it fhall, that though you have come far, yet you never came out of the wildernefs to this day: then, I befeech you, remember that yourselves, and fo alfo many thoufands of God's people muft yet mournfully read the 74, 79, 80, and 89 Pfalms, the Lamentations, Daniel 11th, and Revel. 11th, 12th, 13th, and this, Sir, I befeech you do more feriouſly then ever, and abftract yourfelf with a holy violence from the dung heap of this earth, the credit and comfort of it, and cry to Heaven to remove the ftumbling blocks, fuch idols, after which fometimes the Lord will give His own Ifrael an anfwer.

Sir, You requeft me to be free with you, and therefore blame me not if I anfwer your requeft, defiring the like payment from your own dear hand, at any time, in any thing.

And let me add, that amongft all the people of God, wherefoever fcattered about Babel's banks, either in Rome or England, &c., your cafe is the worft by far, becaufe while others of God's Ifrael tenderly refpect fuch as defire to fear the Lord, your very judgment and confcience leads you to fmite and beat your fellow fervants, expel them your coafts, &c., and therefore, though I know the elect fhall never finally be forfaken, yet Sodom's, Egypt's, Amalek's, Babel's judgments ought to drive us out, to make our calling out of this world to Chrift, and our election fure in him.

Sir, Your fifth is, From what fpirit, and to what end do you drive?

Concerning my fpirit, as I faid before, I could declaim againft it, but whether the fpirit of Chrift Jefus, for whofe vifible kingdom and ordinances I witnefs, &c, or the fpirit of Antichrift (1 John 4) againft whom only I conteft, do drive me, let the Father of Spirits be pleafed to fearch, and (worthy Sir) be you alfo pleafed by the word to fearch: and I hope you will find that as you fay you do, I alfo feek Jefus who was nailed to the gallows, I afk the way to loft Zion, I witnefs what I believe I fee patiently (the Lord affifting) in fackcloth, I long for the bright appearance of the Lord Jefus to confume the man of fin: I long for the appearance of the Lamb's wife alfo, New Jerufalem: I wifh heartily profperity to you all, Governor and people, in your civil way, and mourn that you see not your poverty, nakednefs, &c., in fpirituals, and yet I rejoice in the hopes that as the way of the Lord to Apollo, fo within a few years (through, I fear though, many tribulations) the way of the Lord Jefus, the firft and moft ancient path, fhall be more plainly difcovered to you and me.

Laftly, You afk whether my former condition would not have ftood with a gracious heart, &c.?

At this Query, Sir, I wonder much, becaufe you know what fins, yea all manner of fins, (the fin unto death excepted,) a child of God may lie in, inftance I need not.

Secondly, When it comes to matter of confcience that the ftroke lies upon the very judgment, that the thing practiced is lawful, &c., as the polygamy of the Saints, the building of the Temple, (if David had gone on,) the many falfe miniftries and miniftrations (like the ark upon the new cart) which from Luther's times to this day God's children have confcientioufly practiced. Who then can wonder (and yet indeed who can not but wonder) how a gracious heart, before the Lord's awakening, and calling, and drawing out, may lie in many abominations?

Two inftances I fhall be bold to prefent you with. Firft, do you not hope Bifhop Ufher hath a gracious heart? and fecondly, Do you not judge that your own heart was gracious even when (with the poifoned fhirt on your back) you, &c.?

But while another judgeth the condition fair, the foul that fears, doubts, and feels a guilt hath broken bones, &c. Now, worthy Sir, I muft call up your wifdom, your love, your patience, your promife and faithfulnefs, candid ingenuity, &c. My heart's defire is abundant, and exceeds my pen. My head and actions willing to live (as the Apoftle Paul) *χαλῶς ἐν πᾶσι* Where I err, Chrift be pleafed to reftore me, where I ftand, to eftablifh. If you pleafe I have also a few Queries to yourfelf, without your leave I will not: but will ever mourn, (the Lord affifting,) that I am no more (though I hope ever) yours,

R: Will:

Sir, Concerning natives: the Pequods and Nayantaquits refolve to live and die together, and not to yield up one. Laft night tidings came that the Mohawks, (the cannibals,) have flain fome of our countrymen at Connecticut. I hope it is not true.

To John Winthrop, Governor, &c.

The correspondence with Winthrop in the matter of the Pequod uprising, important as it was, comprised by no means the most interesting of the missives which passed

between the two friends. Of the one hundred and fifty or more letters of Roger Williams which are extant[1], by far the greater number are addressed to John Winthrop. Many, like those quoted, are upon matters of weighty moment, in the affairs of the government, and many are personal and social in their nature. One of the most pleasing was written but a few days later than the one just quoted, and it is not improbable that the two epistles may have been forwarded by the same messenger, the sachem Miantonomoh. The contents of the letter sufficiently explain its purpose.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his much honored Governor, John Winthrop.

The last of the week, I think the 28th of the 8th [Oct. 28, 1637]

SIR: This bearer, Miantunnomu, resolving to go on his visit, I am bold to request a word of advice from you concerning a proposition made by Canonicus and himself to me. Some half year since Canonicus gave an island in this bay to Mr. Oldham, by name Chibachuwese [now Prudence] upon condition, as it should seem, that he would dwell there near unto them. The Lord (in whose hands all hearts are) turning their affections toward myself, they desired me to remove thither and dwell nearer to them. I have answered once and again that for present I mind not to remove; but if I have it from them, I would give them satisfaction for it, and build a little house and put in some swine, as understanding the place to have store of fish and good feeding for swine. Of late I have heard that Mr. Gibbons, upon occasion, motioned your desire and his own of putting some swine on some of these islands, which hath made me since more desire to obtain it, because I might thereby not only benefit myself, but also pleasure yourself, whom I more desire to pleasure and honor. I spoke of it now to this Sachem and he tells me that because of the store of fish Canonicus desires

[1]Pub. Nar. Club, vi.

that I would accept half, (it being spectacle-wise and between a mile or two in circuit, as I guess) and he would reserve the other; but I think, if I go over I shall obtain the whole, your loving counsel, how far it may be inoffensive, because it was once (upon a condition not kept) Mr. Oldham's. So, with respective salutes to your kind self and Mrs. Winthrop, I rest,

Your worship's unfeigned in all I may,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

That Winthrop replied to this letter at once, and accepted the offer thus made of a partnership in the island is certain. Williams closed a bargain with the sachem for the island, the consideration being twenty fathoms of wampum and two coats, one-half of which price was to be paid by Winthrop. A deed was executed in which the names of Williams and Winthrop were inserted as grantees. His partner was at once notified of the transaction by Williams.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

10th of 9th [Nov. 10, 1637]

* * * * *

I have bought and paid for the Island and because I desired the best confirmation of the purchase to yourself that I could, I was bold to insert your name in the original here inclosed. The ten fathoms of beads and one coat you may please at leisure to deliver to Mr. Throckmorton, who will also be serviceable in the conveyance of swine this way.

* * * * *

Not only did Williams admit Winthrop to a partnership with himself in the purchase of this valuable tract of land, and thus show his friendliness toward him, but by the commitment to his oversight of a matter of personal business did Williams show to us his still closer intimacy with the chief spirit of the Bay. It would appear, from this and other letters and entries that Williams upon his

withdrawal from the Bay, left behind him some business affairs unsettled, both in the collection and in the payment of debts outstanding. An old debt, contracted with him while at Plymouth, by one George Ludlow, he found exceedingly difficult of collection. He requested one Richard Collicut to act for him in its collection and sent him a power of attorney, but with no good success. He then turned to Winthrop and begged for his assistance:

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

To his most honored Governor John Winthrop.

SIR,—Having used many means and many Attornies (in my absence) to recover a debt of Mr. George Ludlow and failed by all, and now last of all by Richard Collicut who undertook seriously, but comes off weakly in it: let me humbly beg what help in a righteous way may be afforded (now in his departure) to cause him to deal honestly with me who have many years and in many wants been patient toward him. The debt was for mine own and wife's better apparel, put off to him at Plymouth. My bills are lost but his own hand which the bearer will deliver is testimony sufficient. He hath used so many flights and told so many falsehoods, that Sir, if you believe more than you see, I must 'patiently give my debt for desperate; however with my best respects to your kind self and Mrs. Winthrop, and sighs to heaven for you, I rest,

Your worship's unfeignedly faithful till death,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

A little later, finding himself beset with troubles caused by the the importunity of a creditor, whom he left behind, unsatisfied, in Salem, and who placed an attachment upon his homestead, in that town, he again appeals to Winthrop for counsel and assistance. He prefaces his letter with a reference to a recent earthquake, in which he hears and sees the voice and hand of God:

Roger Williams to John Winthrop.

For his much honored Mr. Governor, John Winthrop.

Providence, [June, 1638.]

Sir,—I fometimes fear that my lines are as thick and over bufy as the mufketoes, &c., but your wifdom will connive, and your love will cover, &c.

Two things at prefent for information.

Firft in the affairs of the Moft High; his late dreadful voice and hand: that audible and fenfible voice, the Earthquake.

All thefe parts felt it, (whether beyond the Narraganfett I yet learn not), for myself I fcarce perceived ought but a kind of thunder and a gentle moving, &c., and yet it was no more this way to many of our own and the natives apprehenfions, and but one fudden fhort motion.

The younger natives are ignorant of the like: but the elder inform me that this is the fifth within thefe four fcore years in the land: the firft about three fcore and ten years fince: the fecond fome three fcore and four years fince, the third fome fifty-four years fince, the fourth fome forty-fix fince: and they always obferved either plague or pox or fome other epidemical difeafe followed; three, four or five years after the Earthquake, (or Naunaumemoauke, as they speak).

He be mercifully pleafed himfelf to interpret and open his own riddles, and grant (it be pleasing in his eyes) it may not be for deftruction, and but (as the Earthquake before the Jailor's converfion) a means of shaking and turning of all hearts, (which are his,) Englifh or Indian, to him. To further this (if the Lord pleafe) the Earthquake fenfibly took about a thoufand of the natives in a moft folemn meeting for play, &c.

Secondly, a word in mine own particular, only for information. I owe between 50 and 60*li* to Mr. Cradock for commodities received from Mr. Mayhew. Mr. Mayhew will teftify that (being Mr. Cradock's agent) he was content to take payment, what (and when) my houfe at Salem yielded: accordingly I long fince put it into his hand, and he into Mr. Jollies', who befide my voluntary act and his attachment fince, fues as I

hear for damages, which I question: fince I have not failed againft contract and content of the firft agent, but the holy pleafure of the Lord be done: unto whofe merciful arms (with all due refpects) I leave you, wifhing heartily that mercy and goodnefs may ever follow you and yours.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, to your dear companion, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and theirs, all respective falutes, &c.

It is interesting to note the records made by the two great New England historians concerning this earthquake. Governor Bradford's account is circumstantial:

This year, aboute ye 1. or 2. of June, was a great & fearfull earthquake; it was in this place heard before it was felte. It came with a rumbling noyse, or low murmure, like unto remote thunder; it came from ye norward & pased southward. As ye noyse aproched nerer, the earth begane to shake and came at length with that violence as caused platters, dishes, & such like things as stoode upon shelves, to clatter & fall downe; yea, persons were afraid of ye houses them selves. It so fell oute yt at ye same time diverse of ye cheefe of this towne were mett together at one house, conferring with some of their friends that were upon their removall from ye place, (as if ye Lord would herby shew ye signes of his displeasure, in their shaking a peeces & removalls one from an other.) How ever it was very terrible for ye time, and as ye men were set talking in ye house, some women and others were without ye dores, and ye earth shooke with yt violence as they could not stand without catching hould of ye posts & pails yt stood next them; but ye violence lasted not long. And aboute halfe an hower, or less, came an other noyse & shaking, but nether so loud nor strong as ye former, but quickly passed over; and so it ceased. It was not only on ye sea coast, but ye Indeans felt it within land; and some ships that were upon ye coast were shaken by it. So powerfull is ye mighty hand of ye Lord, as to make both the earth & sea to shake, and the mountaines tremble before him, when he pleases; and who can stay his hand? It was observed that ye somers,

for divers years togeather after this earthquake, were not so hotte & seasonable for ye ripning of corne & other fruits as formerly; but more could & moyst & subjecte to erly & untimly frosts, by which, many times, much Indean corne came not to maturitie; but whether this was any cause I leave it to naturalists to judge.[1]

Mr. Winthrop makes a briefer record, but one which agrees in all essential particulars with that of Bradford. He does not, however, like Williams and Bradford, extract a moral from the occurrence. He says:—

Between three and four in the afternoon, being clear, warm weather, the wind westerly, there was a great earthquake. It came with a noise like a continued thunder, or the rattling of coaches in London, but was presently gone. It was at Connecticut, at Naragansett, at Pascataquack, and all the ports round about. It shook the ships, which rode in the harbour, and all the islands, &c. The noise and the shakings continued about four minutes. The earth was unquiet twenty days after, by times.[2]

Although the personal relations of Williams with Winthrop were so friendly, they were not so with all.

In December, 1670, John Cotton, the younger, then minister at Plymouth addressed a letter to Roger Williams, arraigning him with great severity, for his attitude in his controversy, years before, with the senior Cotton. Mr. Williams replied with great moderation.

ROGER WILLIAMS TO JOHN COTTON, THE YOUNGER.

Providence, 25 March, 1671 [so called].

SIR:—Loving respects premised. About three weeks since I received yours, dated in December, and wonder not that prejudice, interest and passion have lift up your feet thus to trample on me as on some Mahometan, Jew or Papist, some common thief or swearer, drunkard or adulterer; imputing to me the

[1]Bradford, 437, 438.

[2]Winthrop, i, 235.

odious crimes of blasphemies, reproaches, slanders, idolatries; to be in the Devil's Kingdom: a graceless man, &c., and all this without any Scripture, reason, or argument, which might enlighten my conscience as to any error or offence to God or your dear father. I have now much above fifty years humbly and earnestly begged of God to make me as vile as a dead dog in my own eye, so that I might not fear what men should falsely say or cruelly do against me; and I have had long experience of his merciful answer to me in men's false charges and cruelties against me to this hour.

My great offence (you so often repeat) is my wrong to your dear father,—your glorified father, &c. But the truth is, the love and honor which I have always showed (in speech and writing) to that excellently learned and holy man, your father, have been so great, that I have been censured by divers for it. God knows that, for God's sake, I tenderly loved and honored his person, (as I did the persons of the magistrates, ministers, and members whom I knew in Old England, and knew their holy affections and upright aims and great self denial, to enjoy more of God in this wilderness); and I have therefore desired to waive all personal feelings and rather mention their beauties, to prevent the insultings of the Papists or profane Protestants, who used to scoff at the weakness—yea, at the divisions—of those they use to brand for Puritans. The holy eye of God hath seen this the cause why I have not said nor writ what abundantly I could have done, but have rather chose to bear all censures, losses and hardships, &c.

This made that honored father of the Bay, Mr. Winthrop, to give me the testimony, not only of examplary diligence in the ministry, (when I was satisfied in it) but of patience also, in these words in a letter to me: "Sir, we have often tried your patience but could never conquer it." My humble desire is still to bear, not only what you say, but, when power is added to your will, an hanging or burning from you, as you plainly intimate you would long since have served my book, had it been your own, as not being fit to be in the possession of any Christian, as you write.

Alas! Sir, what hath this book merited but presseth holiness of heart, holiness of life, holiness of worship, and pity to poor sinners, and patience toward them while they break not the civil peace? 'Tis true, my first book, the *Bloudy Tenent* was burnt by the Presbyterian party (then prevailing); but this book whereof we now speak (being my Reply to your father's Answer) was received with applause and thanks by the army, by the Parliament, professing that, of necessity,—yea, of Christian Equity,—there could be no reconciliation, pacification, or living together, but by permitting of dissenting consciences to live amongst them; insomuch that that excellent servant of God, Mr. John Owen (called Dr. Owen) told me before the General (who sent for me about that very business) that, before I landed, himself and many others had answered Mr. Cotton's book already. The first book, and the point of permitting Dissenters, his majesty's royal father assented to; and how often hath the son, our sovereign, declared himself indulgent toward dissenters, notwithstanding the clamors and plottings of his self-seeking bishops! And, sir (as before and formerly) I add, if yourself, or any in public or private, show me any failing against God or your father in that book, you shall find me diligent and faithful in weighing and confessing or replying in love and meekness.

Oh! you say, wrong to a father made a dumb child speak, &c. Sir, I pray forget not that your father was not God, but man,—sinful, and failing in many things, as we all do, saith the Holy Scripture. I presume you know the scheme of Mr. Cotton's Contradictions (about church discipline,) presented to the world by Mr. Daniel Cawdrey, a man of name and note. Also, Sir, take heed you prefer not the Earthen pot (though your excellent father) before his most high eternal Maker and Potter. Blessed that you were born and proceeded from him, if you honor him more for his humility and holiness than for outward respect, which some (and none shall justly more than myself) put upon him.

Sir, you call my three proposals, &c., abominable, false and wicked; but, as before, thousands (high and holy, too, some of

them) will wonder at you. Captain Goodkins, from Cambridge, writes me word that he will not be my antagonist in them, being candidly understood. Your honored Governour tells me there is no foundation for any dispute with Plymouth about these proposals; for you force no men's conscience. But, sir, you have your liberty to prove these abominable, false, and wicked, and so disprove that which I have presented in the book concerning the New England churches to be but parochial and national, though sifted with a finer sieve and painted with finer colors.

You are pleased to count me excommunicate; and therein you deal more cruelly with me than with all the profane, and Protestants and Papists too, with whom you hold communion in the parishes, to which (as you know) all are forced by the bishops. And yet you count me a slave to the Devil, because, in conscience to God, and love to God and you, I have told you of it. But, Sir, the truth is, (I will not say I excommunicate you, but) I first withdraw communion from yourselves for halting between Christ and Antichrist—the parish churches and Christian congregations. Long after, when you had consultations of killing me, but some rather advised a dry pit of banishment, Mr. Peters advised an excommunication to be sent me, (after the manner of Popish bulls, &c.) but this same man in London, embraced me, and told me he was for liberty of conscience and preached it; and complained to me of Salem for excommunicating his distracted wife, and for wronging him in his goods which he left behind him.

Sir, you tell me my time is lost, &c., because (as I conceive you) not in the function of ministry. I confess the offices of Christ Jesus are the best callings; but generally they are the worst trades in the world, as they are practised only for a maintenance, a place, a living, a benefice, &c. God hath many employments for his servants. Moses forty years, and the Lord Jesus thirty years, were not idle, though little known what they did as to any ministry; and the two prophets prophesy in sackcloth, and are Christ Jesus his ministers, though not owned by the public ordinations. God knows, I have much and long and conscientiously and mournfully weighed and digged into

the differences of the Protestants themselves about the ministry. He knows what gains and preferments I have refused in universities, city, country and court, in Old England, and something in New England, &c., to keep my soul undefiled in this point, and not to act with a doubting conscience, &c. God was pleased to show me much of this in Old England; and in New, being unanimously chosen teacher at Boston, (before your dear father came, divers years,) I conscientiously refused, and withdrew to Plymouth, because I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as, upon examination and conference I found them to be. At Plymouth I spake on the Lord's days and week days, and wrought hard at the how for my bread, (and so afterward at Salem) until I found them both professing to be a separated people in New England (not admitting the most godly to communion without a covenant) and yet communicating with the parishes in Old by their members repairing on frequent occasions thither.

Sir, I heartily thank you for your conclusion,—wishing my conversion and salvation; without which, surely vain are our privileges of being Abraham's sons enjoying the covenant, holy education, holy worship, holy church or temple; of being adorned with deep understanding, miraculous faith, angelic parts and uttrance; the titles of pastors or apostles, yea, of being sacrifices in the fire to God.

Sir, I am unworthy (though desirous to be)

Your friend and servant,

Roger Williams[1].

To Mr. John Cotton, at his house in N. Plymouth, these Present.

But Mr. Williams's evenness of temper and sweetness of spirit did not serve to free him from antagonisms and troubles in his daily life in his own colony. Allusion has already been made to the almost constant dissensions in the Plantations and the efforts of Williams supplemented by those of Sir Henry Vane to heal them. That he was,

[1]Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1855-1858, 313 *et seq.* Pub. Nar. Club, 351, *et seq.*

in this effort, unsuccessful is shown in the outbreak of a personal feud with one William Harris, one of the original party who sat down with Williams at Seekonk, and with him removed to Moshaussic. Harris being concerned in an attack upon Cromwell, then Lord Protector of England, although he was a prominent man of the town, Williams, as president of the colony thought it his duty to institute proceedings against him. He accordingly issued a warrant for the arrest of Harris, March 12, 1656. This aroused the bitter enmity of the latter, which continued for many years. In 1677 Harris made formal charges against Mr. Williams. These charges Williams met in an elaborate reply, addressed to the "Assembly of Commissioners" and also the Inquest or Jury, sent from the respective Colonies to Providence.

Defence of Roger Williams.

To the much honoured assembly of Commissioners and also the Inquest or Jury, sent from the respective Colonies to Providence,

17th, 9th mo, 1677 (so called) [Nov. 17, 1677.]

The answer of Roger Williams, to the Declaration of W. Harris against the town of Providence, in what particularly, by name the said W. H. falsly and simply accuseth the said Roger Williams.

1st. He chargeth Roger Williams, for taking the land of Providence in his own name, which should have been taken in the name of those that came up with him. 2d. he sold the lands of Providence for more than it cost him. 3d. He promised Pawtuxet for £5 and took £20. 4th. He stirred up Providence men to rise simultaneously against Pawtuxet men.

I answer, it pleased the most high to direct my steps into this Bay, by the loving private advice of that very honored soul Mr. John Winthrop the Grandfather, who, though he was carried

with the stream for my banishment, yet he personally & tenderly loved me to his last breath. It is not true that I was imployed by any, made covenant with any, was supplied by any, or desired any to come with me into these parts. My soul's desire was to do the natives good, and to that end to have their language, (which I afterwards printed) and therefore desired not to be troubled with English company, yet out of Pity, I gave leave to W. Harris, then poor and destitute, to come along in my company, I consented to John Smith, Miller, at Dorchester (banished also) to go with me, and at John Smith's desire, to a poor young fellow, Francis Wicks, as also to a lad of Richard Watermans. These are all I remember. But to what could any of these pretend? to be put in the first grant equal to myself, I promised Wm. Harris land and others also, if it pleased God to vouchsafe it to me: but God furnished myself with advantages, which Wm. H. nor scarce any in New England had. 1st, a constant zealous desire to dive into the Indian language. 2d, God was pleased to give me a painful Patient spirit to lodge with them, in their filthy smoke holes, (even while I lived at Plymouth and Salem) to gain their tongue. 3d, I spared no cost, toward them, and in Gifts to Onsamaquin, yea and to all his, and to Conanicus & his, tokens and presents many years before I came in person to the Nahiganset, and therefore when I came I was Welcome to Osamaquin, and that old prince Conanicus, who was most shy of all English, to his last breath. 4th, I was known to all the Wampanogs & the Maginsiks to be public speaker & at Plymouth & Salem, and therefore with them held as a Sachem. 5th, I could debate with them in a great measure in their own Language. 6th, I had the favour and countenance of that noble soul Mr. Winthrop whom all Indians respected. 7th, I mortgaged my house and Land at Salem (with some hundredths) for supplies to go through, and therefore was it a simple business for me to put in one with my self, all that came with me and afterwards, were not engaged, but came and went at pleasure; but I was forced to go through and stay by it.

2d. As to my selling to them Pawtuxet & Providence: It is not true that I was such a fool to sell either of them, especially

as W. H. saith "like an Halter in the Market who gives most." The Truth in the Holy presence of the Lord is this. Wm. H. Pretending Religion, wearied me with desires, that I should admit him and others into fellowship of my purchase. I yielded and agreed that the place should be for such as were destitute (especially for Conscience Sake) and that each person so admitted should pay 30s country pay, toward a town stock, and myself have £30 toward my charges, which I have had £28 in broken parcels in 5 years. Pawtuxet I parted with at a small addition to Providence (for then that monstrous bound or business of upstream without Limits, was not thought of) Wm. Harris and the first 12 of Providence were restless for Pawtuxet and I parted with it upon the same terms viz. for the supply of the destitute, and I had a loan of them (then dear) when these 12 men (out of pretence of Conscience & my desire of peace) had gotten the power out of my hands, yet they still yielded to my grand desire of propagating a public interest, and confessed themselves but as feoffees, for all the many scores, who were recd afterwards paid the 30s, not to the purchasers (so called) as proprietors, but as feoffees for a Town Stock—and 2d, Wm. Field, the builder of this house, and others told the new comers that they must not think that they bought and sold the right to all the lands and meadows in common and 100 acres presently, and power of voting and all for 30s, but that it went to a town and public use. As to the Simple Charge that I bought cheap and sold dear, Mr. Harris Cannot be ignorant that Connanicus (whom he calls in the Declaration the conquerer of all these parts) he was not I say, to be stirred with money to sell his Lands to let in foreigners. 'Tis true he recd presents and gratuities many of me, but it was not Thousand nor Ten Thousands of money could have bought of him an English Entrance into the Bay. Thousands could not have bought of him Providence or Pawtuxet or Aquideneck or any other land I had of him. I gave him and his youngest Brother's son, Miantunoma, gifts of two sorts. 1st, former presents from Plymouth and Salem. 2d, I was here their councellor and secretary in all their wars with Pequods, Munhiggins, Long Hardres, Wanipanongs.

They had my son, my shallop and Pinnace and hired servant &c., at command on all occasions. Transporting 50 at a Time and Lodging 50 at a time at my house, I never denied them ought, that Lawfully they desired of me. Connanicus laid me out Grounds for a trading house at Nahiganset with his own hands, but he never traded with me, but had freely what he desired, goods, money, so that 'tis simple to imagine, that many hundreds excused me, to the last of that man's breath, who dying sent for me and desired to be buried in my cloth of free gift and so he was. And my trading house which yielded me £100 profit per annum, God knows, that for the public peace sake, I left and Lost it about 20 Years since, when I went last for England. But honoured Gentlemen (bench & jury) I Beg your patience for a word more. He declares I stired up Providence men against Pawtuxet men. I answer, I have been always blamed for being too mild, and the Truth is Chace Brown, a wise and Godly soul (now with God) with my self brought the murmuring after comers, and the first monopolizing 12 to a oneness by arbitration, chosen out of ourselves and Pawtuxet was allowed (only for Peace sake) to the first 12, and the 12 gave me a share which I accepted after the arbitration. But as to upstream without limits (in the boundless and monsterous sense it is now urged) it came from the same forge from whence bloody & monstrous Hocest Corpus, this is my body, Muim, cume. Gentlemen when you find Wickedness, it is your duty to terify & use your sword the sword of God and the King and New England, where you find well doers, as this poor town of Providence, some in it trodden under the feet of Pride about 40 years, Commend them, praise them and Relieve them, so will, not the judge of the World be a terror to you in the day of your trials, but be a balsom of consolation to your souls, for which earnestly Cries to Heaven Your most Unworthy Servant

R. Williams.

P. S.—If there be any difference between W. H. & me, I humbly offer to end it by arbitration, which I humbly conceive

as will be the only medicine for this long and Multiplied disease now before you, and best answer his Majesties and all desires in this business, by this means the Country will be inhabited and with joy and speed.[1]

This letter is of much interest apart from its example of vigorous defence against what the writer regarded as unjust accusations, but as showing forth that evenness of spirit to which Winthrop alluded as a distinguishing characteristic of his friend Williams. It also gives us some particulars as to the personalities of his early companions in exile, which have nowhere else been revealed. But especially it discloses the fact that the business of Indian trading, which was begun at Salem and interrupted by his banishment, was re-opened at the Providence Plantations and continued with large profit, up to the time of his second visit to England. This trading house was erected on the westerly shore of the Bay, some fifteen miles south of Providence, near the place where is now the village of Wickford. The Indian name of the place was Cawcawmsquissick, but is called by Williams, Narragansett. Here were written very many of the letters to Governor Winthrop, which are still preserved. This place was in the region where lived Ninigret, one of his powerful sachem friends. It was thus convenient for the visits of hunters bringing their furs, and the distance was not great across the Bay to Newport, then rising in importance as a shipping port and the chief town of the colony, in point of wealth. We have seen that, in the apportionment of the sum of one hundred pounds, voted by the colony to be paid to Roger Williams for his services and expenses in procuring the charter, the amount to be paid by Newport was as large as the combined

[1]R. I. Hist. Tracts xiv, *52, et seq.*

shares of Providence and Portsmouth. It was important, then, that the trading house should be within easy reach of Newport for here he could the most easily dispose of his barter in the market, or ship it to England, and purchase the supplies of cloth and finery, sugar and other articles, necessary to meet the wants of the Indians with whom he traded. The profits of this trading house, he tells us, were fully one hundred pounds annually, or five hundred dollars of the American currency of the present day. In purchasing power this sum was doubtless equal, in that day, to several times that amount in modern currency. Thus the colony voted to reimburse their agent in the amount which he would have gained by his trading, had he remained at home.

As is well understood, and especially through his pamphlet, *Hireling Ministry none of Christ's*, Williams was conscientiously opposed to the employment of the ministerial profession as a means of livelihood. In this he was thoroughly consistent, for we know that at Plymouth and at Salem, and afterward at Providence he labored as did the others for his own support and that of his family. Of this we have his own testimony. "It is not unknown to many witnesses," he wrote, "in Plymouth, Salem and Providence, that the discusser's time hath not been spent (through as much as any others whosoever) altogether in spiritual labours and public exercise of the word, but day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the how, at the oare, for bread."[1]

Of the family of Williams for whose support he thus labored, and afterward established his trading house at Narragansett, but little has been said, and indeed little is known. We have learned of his disappointment in

[1] *The Bloudy Tenent yet more Bloudy*, Pub. Nar. Club, iv, 103.

his love affair with Jane Whalley and we know that in less than two years after this episode in his life he sailed from Bristol for New England, accompanied by his wife Mary. We know already that his first child, Mary, was born during his life at Plymouth, and he makes frequent mention of his wife and children left behind at Salem, at his banishment. The record shows that a second daughter was born to him in Salem, and that she was named Freeborne. This child was not born when the order of the General Court, expelling him from the jurisdiction was passed, September 3, 1635; and she was but a few weeks old when he took his departure.

How the journey of Mrs. Williams, from Salem to Providence was accomplished, with her two children, one two years and the other an infant in arms, is not easy to conjecture. It is probable that occasion was taken to forward them on their journey by some trading vessel along the coast. The first book of records of the town of Providence contains a record of the births of six children of Roger and Mary Williams.

Mary ye daughter of Roger Williams & Mary his wife was borne at Plymouth ye first weeke in August, 1633 (so called)

Freeborne ye daughter of Roger Williams & Mary his wife was born at Salem in ye later end of Octob 1635 (so called)

Providence ye son of Roger Williams & Mary his wife was borne at Providence in ye latter end of ye month September 1638 (so called)

Mercy ye daughter of Roger Williams & Mary his wife was borne at Providence about ye 15th of July 1640

Daniell ye son of Roger Williams & Mary his wife was borne at Providence about the 15 of February 1641 (so called) counting yeare to begin about ye 25 of March so yt he was borne above a year & half after Mercy.

Joseph ye son of Roger & Mary Williams his wife was borne

at Providence about ye beginning of ye 10th month, Decemb, 1643 (so called)

With this quaint and simple entry and with a brief allusion, here and there in the writings of Williams, to his son, the formal record of his domestic life must cease. But in an ancient burying ground in a corner of the city's noble park, which bears the name of its founder, stands a stone bearing the name of Joseph, son of Roger Williams, while around are the graves of his descendants.

CHAPTER XVI

It was fully twenty years after the publication of the last of his controversial works already discussed, before Roger Williams again, and then for the last time, entered the arena of controversy. It is this episode in his life which is the least creditable to him, and upon which those who in other respects are admirers of his character and principles, are the least anxious to dwell. This was his famous controversy with George Fox, the exponent of the doctrines of the Quakers. In this he not only displayed an acrimonious spirit, in the use of harsh and abusive terms and epithets, but showed forth such a testimony of uncharitableness, savoring of intolerance, as to belie much which he had argued in former years, to the end that none should be disturbed for cause of conscience. Many of the people called Quakers, driven from Massachusetts and elsewhere, some from town to town at the cart's tail, had taken refuge at Aquidneck and had here formed an important community. To this day some of the descendants of these peculiar people are found there. Many of the prominent men of the colony were attracted to this body, as much, perhaps, by the simple sweetness of their lives, as by a growing belief in their peculiar tenets. The attention of Roger Williams, as a religious controversialist, had been attracted toward them. He was once visited by two women of the sect, who endeavored in vain to interest him in their doctrines. He visited, upon one occasion, one of their General assemblies at Newport, and there arose and "began to present to them some considerations about the true Christ

and the false, the true Spirit and the false." But since the meeting was not called for the purpose of controversy, but rather for worship, he had scarcely begun when one of the brethren arose and began a prayer. This was followed by singing and this quickly in turn by another prayer, and the dissolution of the assembly—a method not wholly unknown at the present day, when a meeting for religious worship is interrupted by a "crank," who desires to present some peculiar notion, at variance with the spirit of the gathering.

In the year 1671, the Quakers of Aquidneck were visited by their famous leader George Fox and an assembly of several days' duration was held. This was no doubt, similar in purport and conduct to the "Yearly Meeting of Friends," now annually held at Newport. This occasion was, of course, uncommon, for it was the first, and possibly the only visit of Fox to New England. As he said, "it was upon him from the Lord to go beyond the sea, to visit the plantations in America." With a party of followers he sailed from Gravesend, in the summer of that year, and proceeded to the Barbadoes, where was a colony of people of his faith. Thence he went to Maryland, and so along the coast northward, until Narragansett Bay and Aquidneck were reached. Here the assembly was held, continuing six days, large numbers of men and women of the faith being present. This seems to have been to them a meeting of great spiritual uplifting. Leaving Newport at the conclusion of the meeting—which was followed by two days of social intercourse and leave-taking—Fox went to Providence, where he held a meeting "in a great barn," which was thronged with interested people. From here he went to Narragansett, where a meeting was held for the propagation of the faith, none such having ever been held at that place be-

fore. Much interest was created and some converts to the doctrines of Fox were made. From this place Fox went to Shelter Island for a time, and thence returned to Aquidneck—or Rhode Island, as it was now called—where he remained for several weeks.

Roger Williams was always interested in religious ideas or beliefs promulgated; and long before the visit of Fox to Rhode Island he had seen and carefully read the Quaker leader's book: *The Great Mystery of the Great Whore unfolded; and Anti-Christ's Kingdom revealed unto Destruction.* (London, 1659.) Impressed by the attention and excitement caused by Fox's visit, he read it a second time, and was irresistibly seized with his old controversial spirit. He was now upwards of seventy years of age, and had for a long time been but little concerned with public affairs. But the fire within him was not quenched. He determined to challenge Fox to a doctrinal controversy, and to that end prepared a series of propositions, fourteen in number, which he offered for the consideration of his opponent. These he forwarded to Fox, addressed to him at Newport, and enclosed in a formal challenge. This was to Fox or all comers. It was stipulated by Williams in his challenge that seven of these propositions were to be debated at Newport and seven at Providence. The challenged party was to fix the time for the debate to begin, but was to give his opponent at least six days notice of the time fixed. It was also stipulated that "without interruption, or many speaking at once," the conference should continue from nine in the morning until about four in the afternoon; that if either of the seven propositions should not be finished in one day the conference should be continued upon that proposition, the next day; that either disputant should have "free, uninterrupted liberty to

speak, in answers and replies as much and as long as" he should desire. The fourteen propositions were these:

1. That the people called Quakers are not true Quakers according to the holy Scriptures.

2. That the Christ they profess is not the true Lord Jesus Christ.

3. That the spirit by which they are acted is not the Spirit of God.

4. That they do not own the holy scriptures.

5. Their principles and possessions are full of contradictions and hypocrisies.

6. That their religion is not only a heresy in the matters of worship, but also in the doctrines of repentance, faith, etc.

7. Their religion is but a confused mixture of popery, Arminianism, Socineanism, Judaism, etc.

8. The people called Quakers (in effect) hold no God, no Christ, no spirit, no angel, no devil, no resurrection, no judgment, no heaven, no hell, but what is in man.

9. All that their religion requires (external and internal) to make converts and proselytes amounts to no more than what a reprobate may easily attain unto, and perform.

10. That the popes of Rome do not swell with, and excercise a greater pride than the Quakers' spirit hath exprest and doth aspire unto, although many truly humble souls may be captivated amongst them, as may be in other religions.

11. The Quaker's religion is more obstructive and destructive to the conversion and salvation of the souls of people, than most of the religions this day extant in the world.

12. The sufferings of the Quakers are no true evidence of the truth of their religion.

13. That their many books and writings are extremely poor, lame, naked, and swelled up only with high titles, and words of boasting and vapor.

14. That the spirit of their religion tends mainly,

1. To reduce persons from civility to barbarism.

2. To an arbitrary government and the dictates and decrees of that sudden spirit that acts them,

3. To a sudden cutting off of people, yea, of kings and princes opposing them.

4. To as fiery persecutions for matters of religion and conscience, as hath been or can be practised by any hunters or persecutors in the world.

This challenge and series of propositions to be debated Mr. Williams enclosed under cover to Deputy Governor John Cranston at Newport, as a man of prominence in the community. He did not, however, keep secret the fact that he had sent such a challenge to Fox, but, on the contrary, published both the fact and the challenge abroad in the town, by sending a copy to a neighbor who was inclined to Quaker opinions. This neighbor read the propositions at a meeting of the people of the faith at Providence. In the assembly was one John Crossman, a Quaker, who was master of the packet which ran between Providence and Newport. Crossman was especially incensed at this attack of Williams upon his faith, and meeting him in the street assailed him with violent language, applying to him the epithet of "blind sot," and demanding to know how he dared to send his fourteen lies to such a man as George Fox.

The challenge and propositions did not come to the eye of Fox, previous to the debate which followed. He was upon the eve of his departure from Newport, and it is probable that Crossman, being evidently a man of slight education and little breeding, suppressed the letter sent to Deputy Governor Cranston, by his vessel, under the mistaken belief that thus he would do a service to Mr. Fox. At all events, the letter, which bore date of July 13, did not reach the hand of Governor Cranston until

ten days later, and not until after Fox had left Newport. This aroused the suspicions of Williams that Fox, being made well aware of the probable contents of the Cranston letter, had arranged that it should not be delivered, until after his departure should make its acceptance by him impossible. With the greatest force Williams made the charge, afterward, that Fox, not daring to meet him in open debate had "slyly departed," and left the burden of the proposed discussion to be borne by his friends and supporters.

Notwithstanding the sharp and, in a measure, insulting phraseology of the fourteen propositions, the Quakers of Newport resolved to meet Williams upon the ground which he had staked out. A deputation of them proceeded to Providence and waited upon Williams. "Their salutations were," he says, "(like the meetings of their dumb spirit) in silence;" but he bade them welcome. Through their spokesman, John Stubs, the challenge of Williams was accepted, although, as they informed him, the paper had not been delivered until after the departure of Fox, which fact would operate to prevent his presence to aid them in the discussion. But as the challenge was thrown down "to all comers," they would take it up as best they might. After arranging some of the details of the approaching contest, Mr. Williams produced a decanter and glasses, and offered refreshment to his guests, some of whom accepted his proffered hospitality.

Upon the day previous to that fixed for the opening of the debate, Mr. Williams left Providence in a rowboat, and performed the remarkable feat of rowing the entire distance to Newport, fully thirty miles, that he might be present at the time appointed. "God graciously assisted me in rowing all day with my old bones," he recorded,

"so that I got to Newport toward the midnight before the morning appointed."[1]

Mr. Williams, on entering the meeting-house of the Quakers, at the time fixed for the beginning of the wordy contest, found three men opposed to him—John Stubs, John Burnet and William Edmundson. They were seated together upon the "high seats." Williams thus characterizes his opponents.

John Stubs was learned in the Hebrew and the Greek: as for John Burnet I found him to be of a moderate spirit and a very able speaker. The third, W. Edmundson, was newly come (as was said) from Virginia and he proved the chief speaker, a man not so able nor so moderate as the other two; for the two first would speak argument and discuss and produce scripture, but William Edmundson was very ignorant in the scripture or any other learning. He had been a soldier in the late wars, a stout portly man of a great voice and fit to make a Bragadocia (as he did) and a constant exercise merely of my patience. He would often vapor and preach long and when I had patiently waited till the gust was over and began to speak, then would he stop my mouth with a very unhandsome clout of a grievous interruption, so that sometimes I was forc't to play the moderator, and to protest that such practices were against the sober rules of civility and humanity.[2]

On the first day of the debate Williams took his place at the rear of the house and from this position discussed his propositions. On the second day, being somewhat indisposed—the exertion of his long row no doubt producing its effect—he seated himself near the middle of the house, and so remained until the close of the discussion of the first seven of the propositions. The discussion occupied three days at Newport, and was then adjourned

[1]Pub. Nar. Club, v, 37.
[2]Pub. Nar. Club, v, 38.

to Providence, where it was continued for one day longer. Williams with the intent, no doubt, of publishing the debate, endeavored to procure the services of a short-hand writer but in this effort he was unsuccessful. He was obliged, therefore, to be his own reporter; and this he was, in a thick volume, published in 1676. Mr. Edmund Burrows, being one of the promoters, with Fox, of the doctrines of the Quakers, Williams, in his book employs the two names in a title, which is as bad in its pun, as it is questionable in its taste, and doubtful in its Christian Spirit. The full title of the book is this:

George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes; or an Offer of Disputation on fourteen Proposalls made this last Summer 1672 (so called) unto G. Fox then present on Rode Island in New England, by R. W. As also how (G. Fox slily departing) the Disputation went on being managed three dayes at Newport on Rode Island, and one day at Providence, between John Stubs, John Burnet and William Edmundson on the one part and R. W. on the other. In which many quotations out of G. Fox and Ed. Burrowes Book in Folio are alleadged, with an Appendix of some scores of G. F. his simple lame Answers to his Opposites in that Book, quoted and replyed to by R. W. of Providence in N. E. Boston: Printed by John Foster, 1676.

In his introduction to this work, Mr. Williams relates the circumstances, already shown forth, of his sending the challenge to George Fox, to debate with him his fourteen propositions. He could not be persuaded that Fox did not leave Newport for the purpose of avoiding the contest, and thus in his title page he makes the accusation that he "slyly departed." He thus asserts:

In the Junto of the Foxonians at Newport it was concluded for Infallible Reasons that His Holiness G. Fox should withdraw; seeing that there was such a knot of the Apostles of Jesus Christ now at Newport together, (especially John Stubs, a man

knowing the Greek and Hebrew.) Therefore, that it might appear that such a Nehemiah as he would not fly, it was agreed that my Letters should not be delivered to the Deputy Governour until G. Fox was gone; so that it might be truly said, that he never saw the Paper which I sent unto him, I had a touch of this *Leger de main* trick in our Dispute at Newport, and the Deputy Governour did publickly testify that my letters to him were dated the 13 of July, (which he said he wondered at) but were not broouht to him until G. Fox was some hours departed. John Burniat protest that he knew nothing of the detaining of the Letters, only he knew that G. Fox never saw my Paper. G. F. Supposed I would be forced to be as plain in my Proofs as I was in my Positions. He knew that I was furnishe with Artillery out of his own Writings. He saw what Consequences would roll down the mountains upon him from, his proud and insolent, yet poor, bald writings; and how far some of his present practices were fallen out with his writings, and therefore this old Fox thought it best to run for it, and leave the work to his journeymen and chaplains to perform in his absence for him.

George Fox in reply to the attack of Williams published a book under the title: *A New England Fire Brand Quenched.* In this Fox shows conclusively that his writings, if "poor," were certainly not "bald," for in remarkably vigorous language, he answers these accusations of his opponent. He says:

These are four great Lies: for G. F. knew not what was in thy Papers, Roger, neither had G. F. seen the copies of these Proposals; neither did G. F. hinder their being delivered to the Governour. Nor did G. F. ever receive any letters from R. W., or go away for fear of him or them; nor was it a likely thing, that he should, when he knew nothing of them, for as I said before, when I was at Providence, where this Roger lives, he came not at me. And if he had anything to have spoken to me, he might easily have done it, or have written to me, and have sent the same copies to me, he sent to Captain Cranston; and not have made a clamour

against me, belying of me to the world behind my back, when I was gone. But this is like the Fruits of his Spirit, but not the Spirit of Christ and his diciples, "Oh! how darest thou, Roger Williams, publish such false lyes to the world, when thou knowest Conscience that G. F. never had any writing, or letter, or proposal from thee; neither did he ever exchange word with thee. The Lord God of Heaven knowes it, and the Deputy Governour knowes that I received none of thy writings or papers of proposals by him. Behold all sober people the foundation of this man's attempt, the beginning of his work; and since the foundation of thy book is a monstrous lye, the building upon such a foundation of lyes is not like to be otherwise; which lyes thou hast made thy refuge, as throughout thy book may be evidently seen. For except a man had sold himself to work falsehood, and make lyes, he could not have done more wickedly and have uttered falser charges than thou hast done. But the Lord God which knows them and sees thy evil design in them will sweep them away with the Besom of Destruction and clear his people from thy manifest false tongue.[1]

Some of the propositions offered by Williams were, as is seen, doctrinal in their nature and capable of earnest debate and scriptural argument. Others, it is readily perceived, were simply charges alleged in apparently no friendly spirit, and incapable of discussion. This point was, indeed, urged by Burnet in the debate. Moreover, since apparently no judges were appointed, no decision could be rendered as to which party had triumphed; and the assembly finally adjourned, each side to the dispute being evidently well satisfied with the manner in which it had acquitted itself. Williams's book, containing his report of the discussion, appeared four years after its conclusion. Fox replied two years later with his *A New England Fire Brand Quenched*, and Burnet also made a

[1]N. E. Firebrand Quenched, pt, i, 2.

rejoinder to Williams in *Truth Exalted.* The discussion, so far as concerned Roger Williams, here ceased. It had been conducted on both sides in a manner little calculated to advance the cause of religion. In these writings all parties to the controversy displayed a singular lack of courtesy, disregarding what are considered today the ordinary amenities of intercourse. The attack of Williams upon Quakerism, bitter and acrimonious, drew forth remonstrances from all sides. Governor Coddington, who was inclined to favor the views of Fox, denounced Williams in strong terms, in a letter to Fox. Others of those whom Williams would desire to regard his friends arrayed themselves as his opponents.

George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes, like the *Bloudy Tenent yet more Bloudy* has three introductions. The first of these is addressed to King Charles II, which gave the Quakers an opportunity of criticising the author, as attempting to "curry favor" with royalty. The second is addressed *To the People Called Quakers.* This is couched in language which could not fail to give offence to those addressed. The third was addressed *To those many Learned and Pious Men whom G. Fox hath so sillily and Scornfully answered in his book in Folio, Especially, to those whose names I have been bold to mention in the Narrative and Appendix, Mr. Richard Baxter and Mr. John Owen.* "Through your sides," he begins, "the Devil by the Clawes of this wily Fox, hath tore at the heart of the Son of God."

Judging from the report of Williams, the debate was conducted with indecorum upon both sides, insomuch that on the morning of the third day of the discussion, Robert Williams, the brother of Roger, "schoolmaster at Newport" was moved to address a letter of remonstrance to the disputants. This was delivered, sealed,

to Roger Williams just as he was about to begin the debate upon the third day, but he, thinking no doubt that it contained some purely personal matters, put it unopened into his pocket. The intent of Robert Williams that it should be read in the public assembly was not realized; but it appears in full in Williams's book. In this letter Robert Williams remonstrates first with his brother for his severe attacks upon the Quakers. He says:

You have not dealt as a faithful servant of the Lord Jesus, with your fellow servants, . . . you have assumed and presumed too much, being so large and high proposals, which do appear unto me not as charges, but in this first appearance as proposals, until they are maintained as charges by sufficient proof, wherein they may be molified. . . . Yet know there may be a great zeal without true knowledge, therefore let true zeal appear that is not in persecution, but for the glory of God and truth's sake, as it is in Jesus.

The defending disputant he reproved for "assuming and presuming beyond the bounds of moderation of christianity," and for "indecorous behaviours both in words and gestures unto your [their] elder fellow servants and aged father, complaining as not performing your [their] duty as young men unto rule of honouring grey hairs." Especially did the writer remonstrate against the reiterated addressing of his brother as "thou old man, thou old man," as showing disrespect to the aged.

These remonstrances of Robert Williams, which would more properly, perhaps, proceed from him than from any other auditor, are in themselves a sufficient criticism of the debate and the manner in which it was conducted upon both sides. It is certain that this controversy was

conducted by Roger Williams in a manner far less generous and courteous than that of years before with John Cotton. It is evident that, with the passage of years Williams, when in the arena of discussion, had lost none of his youthful vigor, but had the rather added to it a querulousness, to be wondered at when we remember the sweetness of his disposition, so often remarked by his personal friends and acquaintances. When we contrast with the harshness and acrimony of this attack upon Fox, the christian-like spirit of meekness with which he met the abrupt and not altogether gentle charges of John Cotton, the younger, and the gentleness with which he explained away the misapprehensions of that gentleman, one can but wonder by what spirit he had become possessed; and when he rebukes the use of *Thee* and *Thou* by Quakers, and says: "I have therefore publickly declared myself that a due and moderate restraint and punishing of these incivilities (though pretending conscience) is as far from persecution, properly so called) as that it is a duty and command of God unto all mankinde, first in families and thence into all mankinde societies," one is lost in wonder if, in his overheated zeal, he did not himself forget the force of the great doctrine of which he was the first American exponent.

And so we must take our leave of this man, whom history records and posterity acknowledges as one of the great men of an age prolific in great men. And yet his was a character unlike the pebble which, rolled and tossed by waves, becomes perfectly rounded and polished by continued contact with others upon the sands. His erudition was great, and yet it was employed in but a single line of thought. He was an accomplished scholar in the Greek, yet one searches in vain, in his writings, for an allusion to, or a quotation from, Homer or Plato.

A personal friend of one of the greatest poets who ever sung, he gives no evidence that he had so much as read *Paradise Lost*, or the *Sonnet to the Nightingale*. Williams was born at the time when Shakespeare was at the height of his literary power, and *King Henry VIII* must have appeared not far from the time when Williams was at Cambridge; but yet, though many and wise are the sayings of Avon's bard, the writings of Williams give evidence of scriptural study alone. He had paid some attention to legal studies and yet it does not seem to have occurred to his mind that he could not consistently acquire, hold, mortgage and convey real property, the title of the grantor of which he believed to be clouded. By his disputatious nature he tried often the patience of his dearest friends, while yet his spirit was so sweet and his temper so even, that he never forfeited their personal affection. His nature was not that of the self-seeker; he hazarded his life for others; and yet throughout his writings, he does not fail to call attention, upon every suitable occasion, to his own sufferings and sacrifices, lest due credit and sympathy should be withheld from him. He is at times denunciatory of others and—especially as regards George Fox—intolerant of opinions at variance with his own, and still he is quick to deprecate similar conduct in others. He was bitterly opposed to the institutions and ordinances of the Church of England, so that he denounced in unmeasured terms, those dissenters who even ventured to attend upon its services of worship; and yet, so full a believer was he in the theory of apostolic authority, that he, after his very brief experience as a Baptist, would accept no ordinances as valid, in the belief that authority to transmit their authority did not lie in Christ's Apostles.

And so, one cannot write him down as a man in all

things well rounded, for he was human, and thus well likened to his fellow men. He was in his earlier years, as saith Governor Bradford, "very unsettled in judgment." He was as a man groping in darkness, and yet sure that somewhere beyond him lay the light, such as no man yet had seen. In the Bay Colony he was trammelled and confined, as one ever seeking for some great truth, which as often ever eluded him. In the Plantations at Providence, with no one about him with whom he essentially differed, and no conditions present which could provoke controversy, his mind was set free from its confinings and liberated into the light of a great human truth. He was not the discoverer of the great idea of the right of man to seek and to scatter religious thought even as he listeth. But it was his honor and his glory, to find among the tares that one precious plant, whose seed was sown by William Prince of Orange, and to transplant it to a virgin soil, where it might grow and flourish. Under his fostering, the tender plant of religious liberty pushed its tiny rootlets far down into the barren soil of New England, until they reached for their nourishment the living stream of truth, "a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God."

The true date of the death of Roger Williams is unknown; but it is certain that it must have occurred during the year 1683, and probably early in that year. Upon the western slope of the great hill, the foot of which was laved by the spring, near which he first built him his habitation, they made his grave, and there they buried him. For one hundred and seventy seven years the rays of the westerning sun shone upon it, and far below, and about was built a great and beautiful city. And at the grave's foot sprang up and grew a tree which, in the spring-time budded and blossomed forth, and in the

autumn gave its fruitage to man. At length onecame who explored the resting place of this man, whose name the world had not forgotten; and in the grave they found the tree's root, shaped like to a human form. And then they knew that, even in death as in life, his spirit had shed forth its fragrance upon the world, and the fruits of his life had given life and peace to many.

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